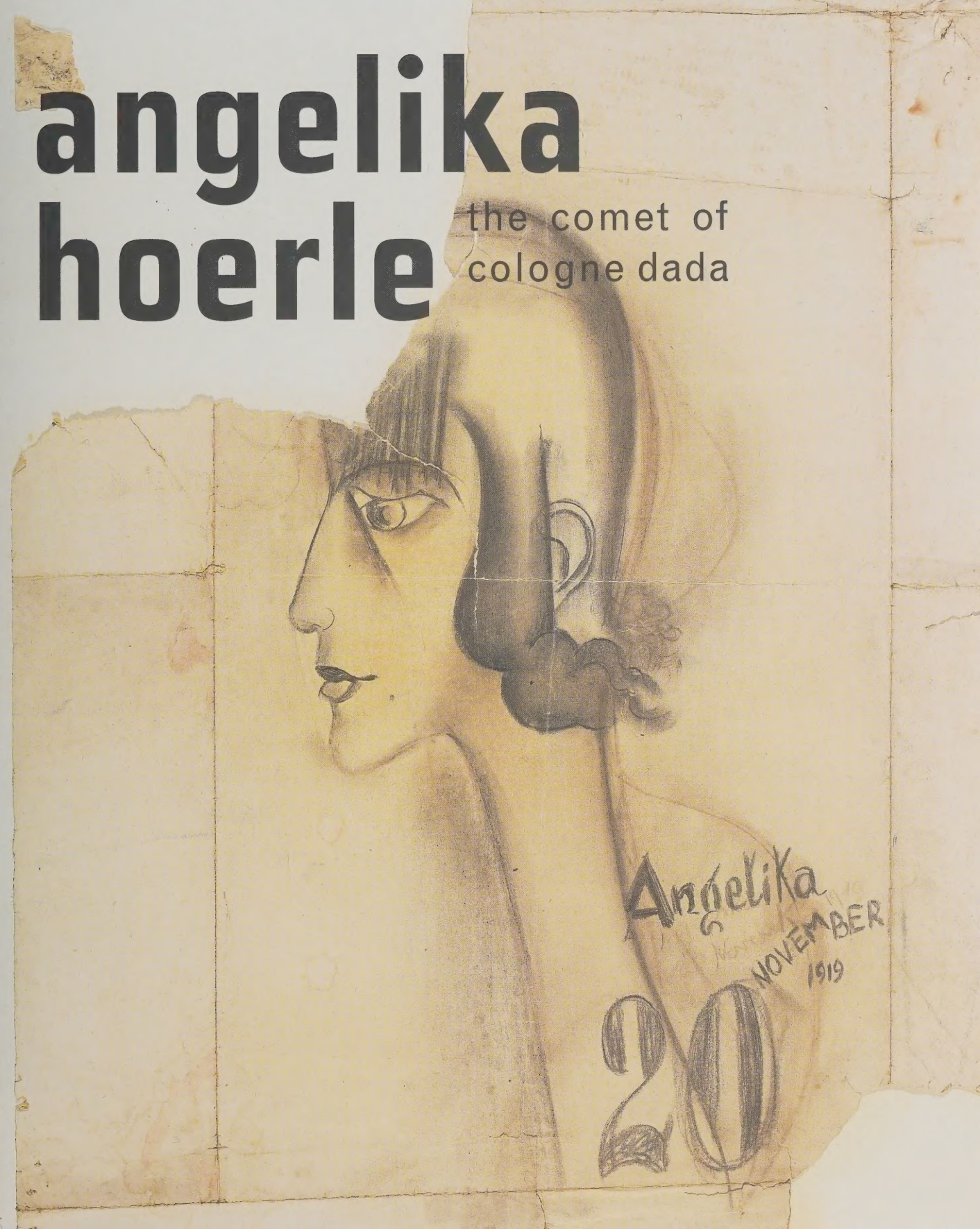
angelika hoerle

the comet of cologne dada



Described by American art patron Katherine Dreier as "a comet on the Cologne scene," Angelika Hoerle (1899–1923) created an outstanding body of work from 1919 until her untimely death just four years later. She and her artist husband, Heinrich Hoerle, were key figures in the Dada movement in Cologne, Germany.

Guest curator Angelika Littlefield, the artist's grand-niece, along with Sabine T. Kriebel and Dorothy Rowe explore how Angelika Hoerle and her art fit into the complex intersections of artistic and political movements in Weimar Germany. The exhibition contextualizes Hoerle's work with other artists in her circle, particularly the so-called Stupid group in Cologne which included Max Ernst, Willy Fick, Franz W. Seiwert and Heinrich Hoerle. This publication, which serves as a catalogue raisonné of Angelika Hoerle's work, also features an exhibition history and a chronology highlighting key events marking the era in which Angelika lived.

The Art Gallery of Ontario is home to the Fick-Eggert Collection of Cologne Dada material, which includes the majority of works by Angelika Hoerle.

Art Gallery of Ontario · Musée des beaux-arts de l'Ontario
Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, Köln

angelika hoerle

the comet of cologne dada



fig. 1 Heinrich Hoerle, **Angelika Hoerle**, 1920

angelika hoerle

the comet of cologne dada

edited by Catherine de Zegher

with essays by

Angelika Littlefield
Dorothy Rowe
Sabine T. Kriebel

Art Gallery of Ontario · Musée des beaux-arts de l'Ontario, Toronto
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pl. 1 Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Wallpaper Sample, 1919 (cat. 1.1)



pl. 2 Angelika Hoerle, **Frauenporträt** (Portrait of a Woman), 1922 (cat. 33)

Director's Preface

Matthew Teitelbaum
Michael and Sonja Koerner Director, and CEO

In 1988, the Art Gallery of Ontario organized *The Dada Period in Cologne: Selections from the Fick-Eggert Collection*, a touring exhibition with a catalogue written by Angelika Littlefield and Roald Nasgaard, former chief curator at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Some twenty years later, we are delighted to welcome Angie back as guest curator of this exhibition, which sheds new light on the life andwork of Angelika Hoerle. The accompanying publication – a catalogue raisonné – features essays by Angelika Littlefield, Sabine T. Kriebel and Dorothy Rowe, which situate Angelika Hoerle within the layered intersections of art, politics and gender issues associated with Weimar Germany.

Described by American art patron Katherine Dreier as "a comet on the Cologne scene," Angelika Hoerle (née Fick) created an outstanding body of work from 1919 until her untimely death in 1923. She and her husband, artist Heinrich Hoerle, were key figures of Cologne's Dada movement. Angelika demonstrated an artistic drive and political conscience that could not be thwarted by family, social conventions or personal tragedy. During the British occupation of Cologne from 1918 to 1920, the Hoerles welcomed to their home the three artists who joined them in the Dada movement: Max Ernst, Franz W. Seiwert and Angelika's older brother Willy Fick. It was there that they met to plan publications, protests and exhibitions in the interests of both

artistic and political reforms. This collaboration came to an abrupt end in 1922 when Angelika became seriously ill after contracting tuberculosis. Heinrich Hoerle abandoned his wife, their apartment and its contents.

Following Angelika's death in 1923, Willy Fick gathered the artists' proofs, sketches, printing blocks, newspaper clippings and publications for safekeeping in his studio. Fearing denunciation and the destruction of the contents of his sister's studio amid the rise of Nazi power in Germany, Fick later hid all the materials in his garden shed. And there they stayed until his Canadian grand-niece, Angelika Littlefield, stumbled upon them in 1967. Despite the deteriorating condition of the collection, she recognized its importance and brought much of it back to Canada. The collection was restored when Willy Fick emigrated to Whitby, Ontario, to spend his last days with the family of his nephew Frank Eggert.

The Art Gallery of Ontario is fortunate to have been given almost the entire oeuvre of Angelika Hoerle, an essential component of the Fick-Eggert Collection. The depth and richness of this remarkable archive documents a period of significance in the history of Cologne Dada. The three hundred works of art, periodicals and other documents that comprise the collection were originally obtained directly from the Cologne home and studio of Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle. The Fick-Eggert Collection functions as a significant prologue to many of the AGO's surrealist works, while also forming a bridge to contemporary artists in our collection who have been profoundly influenced by Dada's legacy, including Greg Curnoe, Michael Snow and Bruce Nauman.

Catherine de Zegher, the AGO's director of Exhibitions and Publications, enthusiastically supported this enterprise. Michael Parke-Taylor, acting curator of European Art, has edited this volume and coordinated the in-house presentation of the exhibition. Loans of Angelika Hoerle's work from the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, and Museum Ludwig Cologne were instrumental to our goal of including every known work attributed to the artist. I would like to express my thanks to the Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal, and Falkenhof Museum, Rheine, which generously loaned works that offer insight into the career of Angelika Hoerle. We are delighted that a component of this exhibition will travel to Museum Ludwig in the fall of 2009.



pl. 3 Angelika Hoerle, **Frauenkopf** (Woman with Hat), 1922 (cat. 31)

Acknowledgements

Angelika Littlefield

I was 20 years old when I found a cache of artworks and materials in my great-uncle Willy Fick's garden shed in Cologne. In the brief time that ensued between the discovery and my uncle's death, I quizzed him in depth about Cologne Dada. He passed on a wealth of information to me that presented Dada and the Cologne arts scene in an entirely new way. We spoke about the period extensively, to the point of documenting books and periodicals that influenced him and the Stupid group. I came to understand the significance of the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin and the British writer Thomas Carlyle. Willy also reluctantly painted a word picture of his sister Angelika, whose death in 1923 remained a source of anguish to him more than forty years later.

An additional forty years have passed since Uncle Willy's death in 1967, yet it is he who merits the utmost thanks for the realization of this 2009 exhibition and catalogue. He not only salvaged the art objects that now form the Fick-Eggert Collection, but also contributed the details and stories that have brought Angelika Hoerle to life.

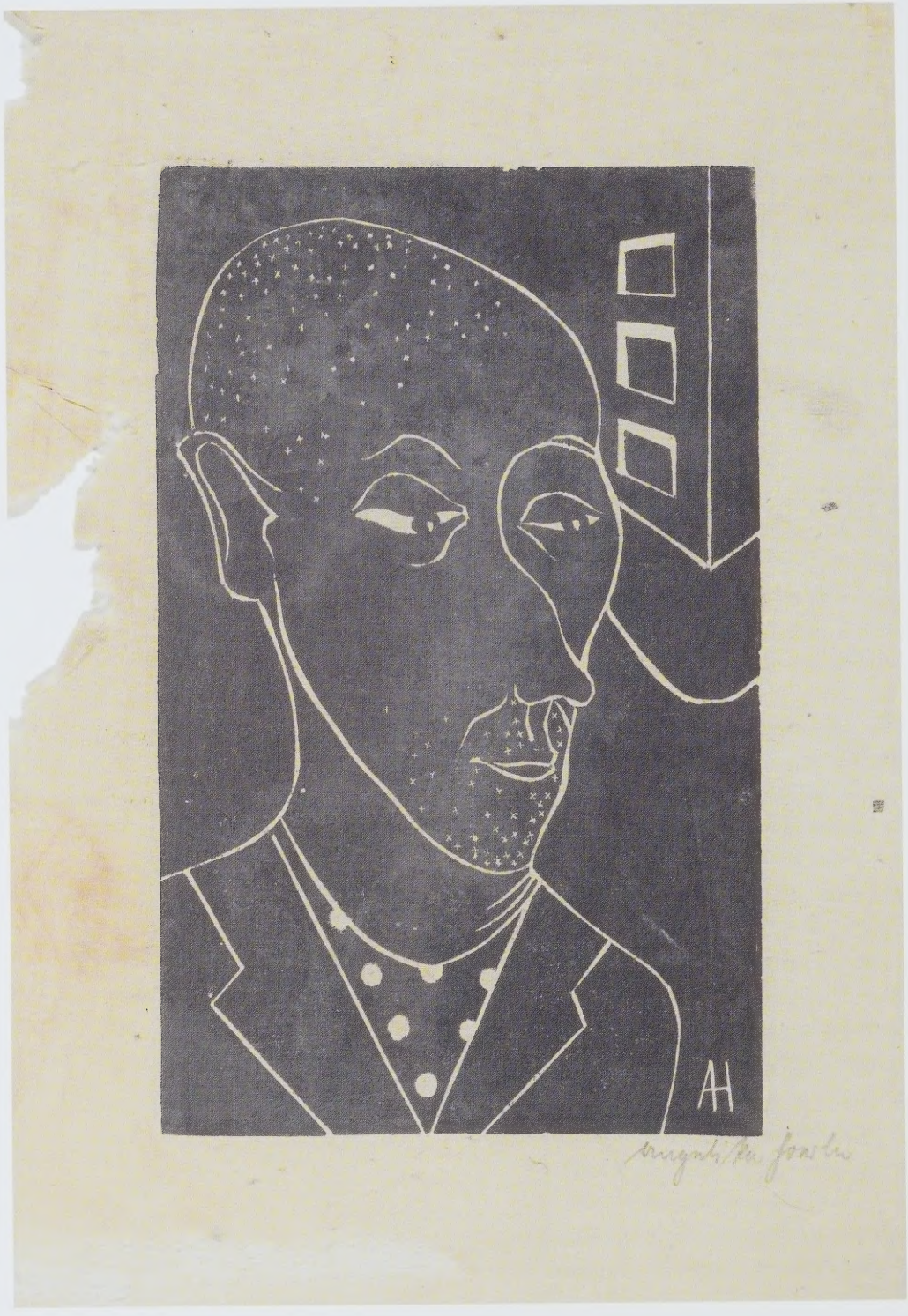
I would like to thank numerous people at the Art Gallery of Ontario who over the years have championed the Fick-Eggert Collection. Dr. Roald Nasgaard spearheaded *The Dada Period in Cologne: Selections from the Fick-Eggert Collection* in 1988. Meanwhile, today's vibrant AGO team, headed by Dennis Reid, Catherine de Zegher and Michael Parke-Taylor,

have provided me with valuable support and advice. I have worked particularly closely with Michael Parke-Taylor, the AGO's resident expert on all things Fick-Eggert. His positive attitude has made it a joy to work on the project.

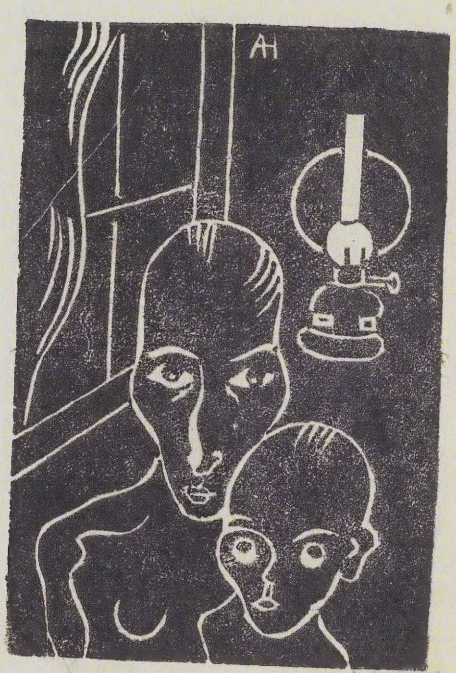
I also owe a great debt to Renate and Ludwig Hendricks, my friends from Bonn, Germany, for providing me with an outstanding collection of Rhineland art books. In addition, they have helped me improve my understanding of the German language during fifteen years of lively discussions. Renate, MP for Nord-Rhein-Westfalen, and Ludwig, an arts patron, take immense pride in this exhibition, which their knowledge has helped to shape.

I am thankful as well to the enthusiastic young professionals – Dr. Sabine T. Kriebel, Dr. Dorothy Rowe and Dr. Lynette Roth – who have opened up new and important avenues of scholarship around my great-aunt Angelika Hoerle and the time period in which she lived. Whenever I had a question, I could count on receiving an answer either from them, or from the very helpful Julia Friedrich of the Museum Ludwig or Rajka Knipper of August Sander Archive (S.K. Stiftung Kultur).

My final thanks are reserved for my family. It took teamwork to bring the Fick-Eggert Collection to the AGO. Thanks to the guardianship and informed advocacy of my parents, Frank and Suse Eggert, the collection was kept together and promoted by them for many years. After their death, my brother, Dr. Frank-Michael Eggert, and I inherited it. My brother and I shared my parents' dream to preserve the collection as a whole and to find a good home where it could be studied. My brother, his wife Colette Lehodey, my husband David and I have been proud to call the AGO the exceptional and permanent home for these artworks, which continue to shed new light on a vital period in art history.



pl. 4 Angelika Hoerle, **Männerkopf, Strasse** (Man's Head and Street), 1919 (cat. 4)



pl. 5 Angelika Hoerle, **Frau und Kind** (Woman, Child and Lamp), 1919 (cat. 3)



pl. 6 Angelika Hoerle, **Elastikakt** (Acrobat), 1921 (cat. 21)

Changing the World

Angelika Littlefield

Broad patterns of hope and despair simultaneously run through Germany in the early twentieth century. Trade unions and socialist parties were on the rise. Women advocated for suffrage. The ideals of communism, still fresh and untarnished, appealed to those who longed for an egalitarian society. Prior to World War I, a youthful wave of artists attempted to wrest control of the arts from what they deemed to be the moribund forces of the establishment. This movement was illustrated in *Die Ratten* (The Rats), Nobel Laureate Gerhard Hauptmann's play set in Berlin in which the rats represent the youth trying to change Prussian society. All this enthusiasm for a better world came to a crushing end with the realities of 1914–1918.

After the war ended, disparate forces vied for control during a period of revolution. Some German artists saw the defeated Germany as a blank canvas upon which they could create a new society. Yet the defeat of the revolutionary left and the exclusion of women from the workforce following the war prompted this optimism to give way to a period of true despair, which failed to lift until artists found hope in new art movements. It was during this volatile period that Angelika Hoerle, like a comet, flashed across the Cologne sky. During her brief flight, the Rhineland art scene emerged as a picture of passionate people who sought to use art as a vehicle to change the world.

Angelika Hoerle was a precocious 14-year-old when WWI introduced harsh realities into the exciting ambience of the Cologne arts scene. The spirited millinery apprentice took up the challenges of change through a variety of friendships forged in groups that became increasingly leftist. The progression from the music evenings in her own home, to discussion groups, meetings and events organized by the Cologne Arts Society, to Dada, Simonskall and

Stupid, provides a roadmap through Germany's chaotic post-WWI art-political situation. This essay follows Angelika's life chronologically to examine the cross-currents of an age that struggled with the notion of how art should best serve society, an issue that remains prevalent today. Through her journey we see how significant events in Munich, Dresden and Berlin spurred action and art in the Rhineland.

Background 1910–1914

Angelika's strong values and social conscience developed early on during family debates. Her father, master cabinetmaker Richard Fick, spoke to his children about the trade union movement and the rights of the working class. Richard Jr., a court reporter in training, revealed the social problems of Cologne's seamy underbelly. Her other brother Willy contributed ideas from his readings of the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, whose vision of the future included self-governing individuals in a leaderless state. Meanwhile, Angelika's mother Anna Kraft Fick provided the cultural anchor, introducing her four children to literature, music, theatre and opera. She encouraged piano and violin lessons, and instituted family music evenings in which the children performed the classics, popular songs and even the latest dance crazes. Angelika's sister Maria spurred her passion for fashion. The two designed hats and clothing for their mannequin-like figures. The family reading of Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* – which focuses on Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, a fictional professor who spins out a droll philosophy of clothing – led to discussions about how changes in fashions and philosophies reflected society.

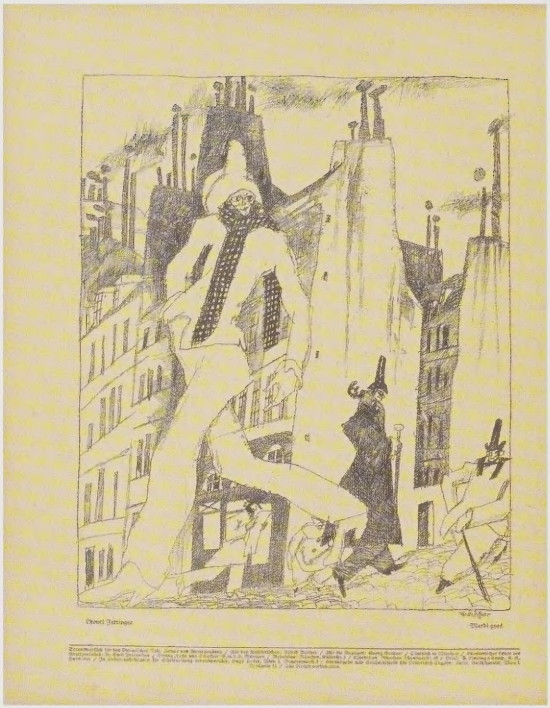


fig. 2 Lyonel Feininger, **Mardi Gras** in **Licht und Schatten**, 1911

Within this vibrant family, Angelika had a particularly close bond with Willy. They shared a biting humour and a love for the visual arts. Willy brought home the Berlin weekly *Licht und Schatten* (Light and Shadow) so that they could study drawings of artists such as Max Slevogt, Franz von Stuck, Alfred Kubin, Käthe Kollwitz and Lyonel Feininger [fig. 2], while they also explored Cologne exhibitions featuring the work of artists in the periodical. When Emmy Worringer and Olga Oppenheimer opened the Gereonsklub art school/studio near the Fick home, Willy and Angelika eagerly attended. The club exhibited art by Robert Delauney, Vincent

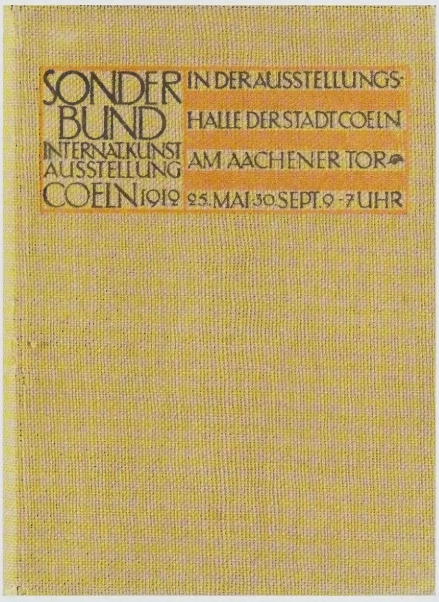


fig. 3 **Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln** [sic], 1912

van Gogh, Gustav Klimt and Pablo Picasso in January 1911, and closed out its program that year with "Words, Tones and Colours," an August Macke lecture inspired by the atonal music of Arnold Schönberg. As Willy recounted years later, it was as if the modern world had moved into their neighbourhood.

Willy started weekend and evening classes in drawing and architectural design at Cologne's Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts) the following year. Angelika did his assignments and worked with him on the precision of line and imaginative design. During the two years Willy was enrolled in the college, he crossed paths with Franz W. Seiwert, Heinrich Hoerle, Marta Hegemann and Anton Räderscheidt, artists who would play a pivotal role in Angelika's life.

In 1912 Angelika and Willy went to the international Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne, which featured more than 600 works from the European avant-garde [fig. 3]. Angelika admired the fashionable ladies found in the works of Marie Laurencin and the massive sculptures of Milly Steger.[1] Angelika was further impressed by Steger's display of twelve female sculptors for the House of Women at the Cologne *Werkbund* (Work Federation) exhibition in 1914. When Angelika saw the design capacities of women who created fabrics, wall hangings, rugs and dolls, she decided on a future in the applied arts. Although Angelika's parents were reluctant to allow her to leave school, they acquiesced when she secured an apprenticeship in millinery.

"The War to End All Wars"

Angelika the working girl was a pacifist who felt that the Social Democrats (SPD), the party holding the balance of power in Germany in 1914, should resist the impending war. Unfortunately, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo lit a fuse that ignited the masses. The SPD gave in to mounting public pressure and ultimately voted with the Kaiser and the establishment in favour of going to war. Angelika was bitterly disappointed with those who went willingly to war, including her own brother Richard. Yet she found comfort in the fact that Willy and his friend Heinrich registered as conscientious objectors; Seiwert was ineligible to serve due to a childhood head injury. By 1916 the shocking realities of the conflict

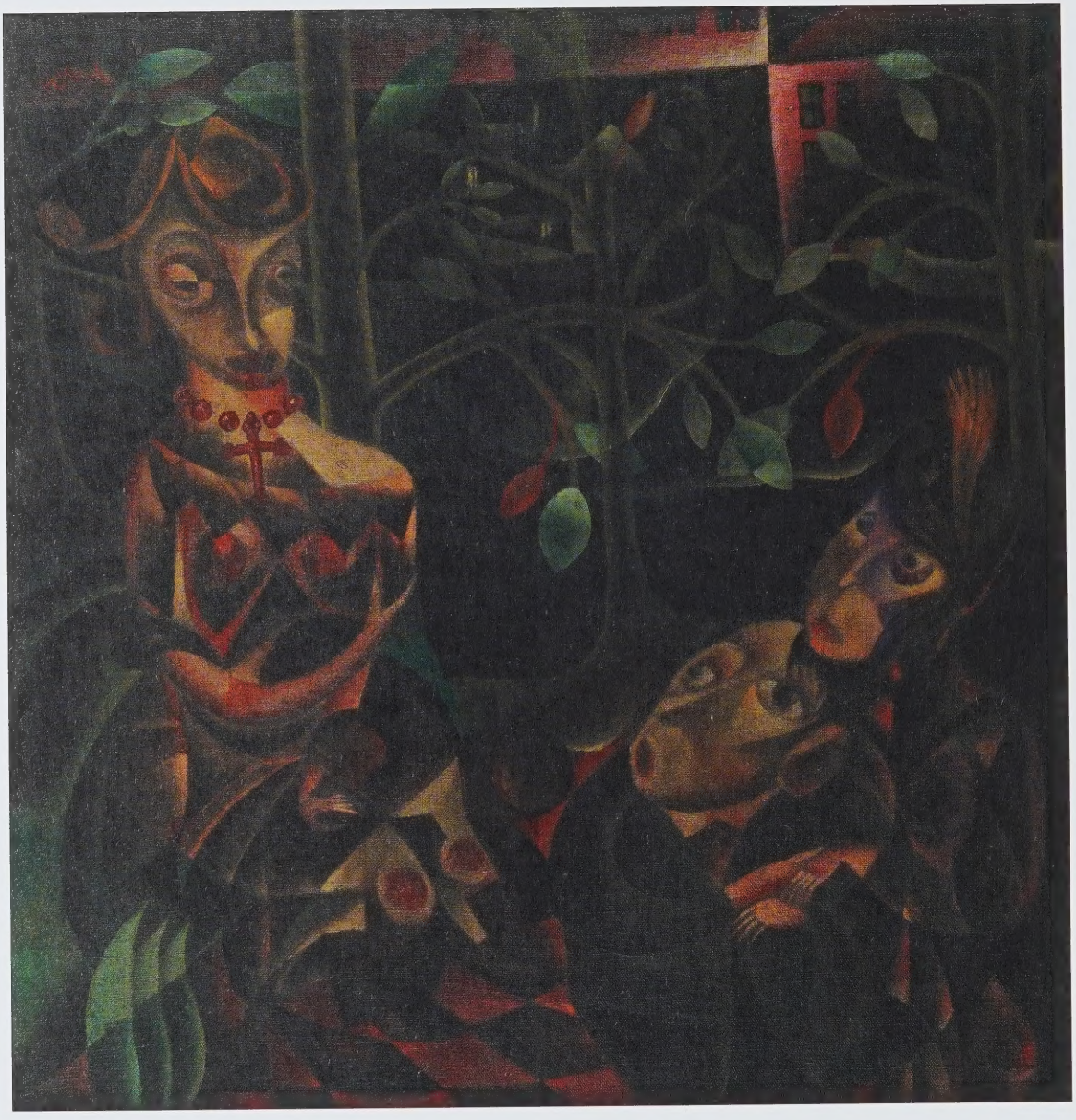


fig. 4 Heinrich Hoerle, **Sohn zwischen Frau und Mutter** (Son between Woman and Mother), c. 1916–1917



fig. 5 Angelika Fick, Richard Fick Sr. and Willy Fick, c. 1916

expanded their anti-war circle to include family friend Otto Freundlich, who was called Uncle Otto by Angelika and Willy and had significant experience in the international art world.[2]

That same year, writer-critic Carl Oskar Jatho returned from battle distraught over what he had seen. Using the model of the Gereonsklub, he and his wife Käthe set up an art discussion group in their Cologne home, which attracted art lovers who shared their anti-war sentiments. At times the Jathos exhibited art from the Munich gallery of their friend Hans Goltz, while another Munich friend, the anarchist Ret Marut,[3] occasionally joined them as well. These wartime meetings forged friendships among left-leaning individuals in rehearsal for the group that would later be called Stupid.

Somewhere between the Jatho discussion groups and the Fick music evenings, Heinrich Hoerle developed a deeper interest in the talented and politically engaged Angelika. Although he had sketched Milly Theophil, the young lady with a unique hat in *Sohn Zwischen Frau und Mutter* (Son between Woman and Mother) [fig. 4] bore greater resemblance to Angelika than Milly. It was also around this time that the maturing Angelika first began to regard herself as an artist – a 1916 family

photo [fig. 5] portrays Willy carrying a book, their father Richard with a cigar, and Angelika holding a painting.

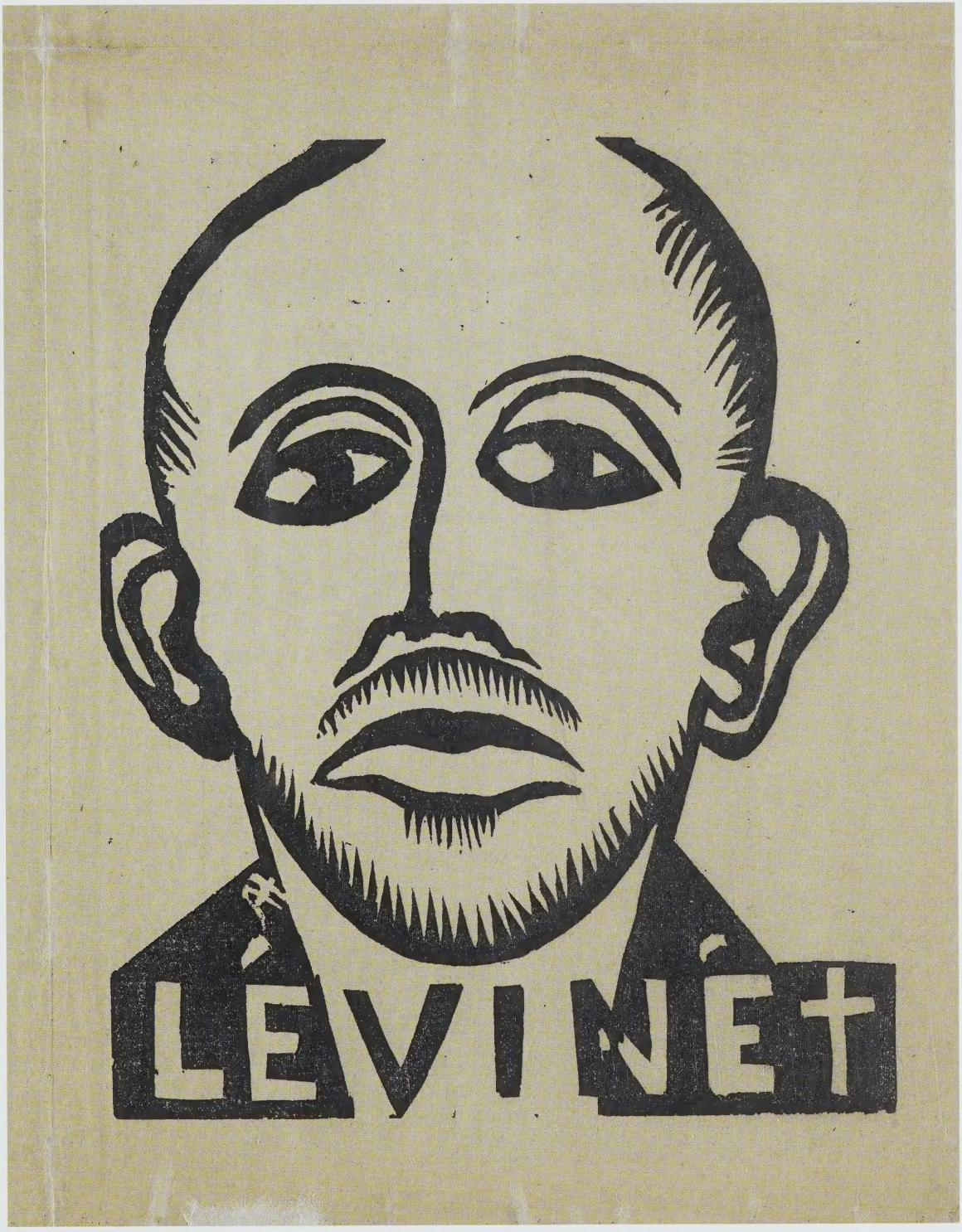
However, with conscientious objectors to the war having received notice to serve in non-combat positions, Heinrich left Cologne in early 1917 to serve as a telephone operator while Willy headed to Coblenz to drive wagons. Angelika and her best friend Marta Hegemann would attend numerous exhibitions, including *Art during War* at the Tietz Department Store in May 1917 – which featured works by Franz W. Seiwert, Max Ernst and Marta's future husband Anton Räderscheidt – and *The War in Graphics* in July at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, organized by Ernst's fiancée Luise Straus.

Quo Vadis?

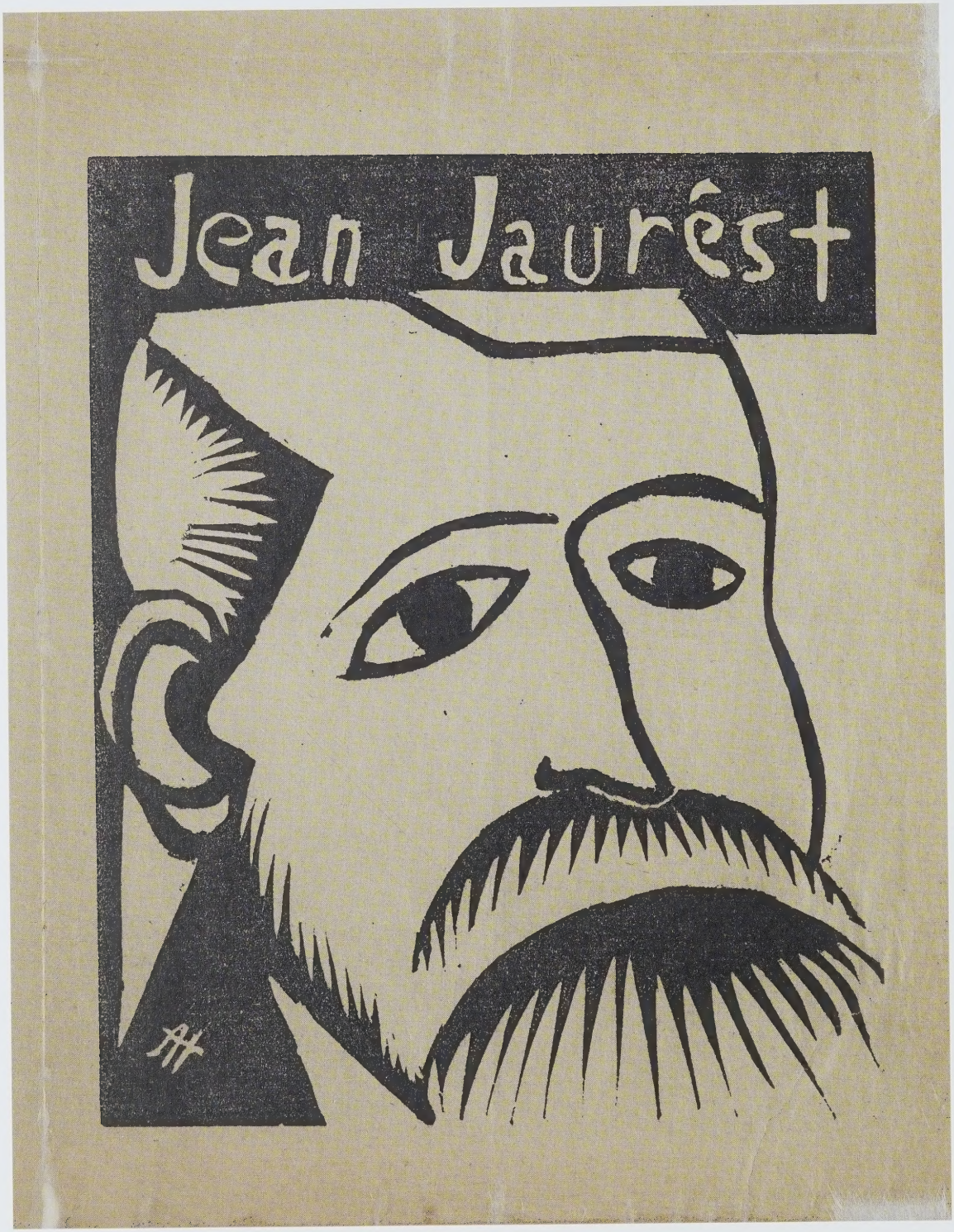
When Heinrich proposed marriage to Angelika near the end of the war, her father did not approve. He supported his children's artistic interests, not a bohemian lifestyle. In Richard Fick's view, Heinrich was neither well educated nor an established artist and had never held steady employment. Yet the prospect of marriage was pre-empted by the sailors' mutiny in Kiel in November 1918, which led to the Kaiser's abdication and a subsequent power struggle. Revolutionary forces representing the working classes took hold in Berlin and Munich. On the evening of November 7, in anticipation of a revolt, Otto Freundlich made flyers which he posted around Cologne. Two hundred revolutionary sailors streamed into the city and opened the doors to Klingelpütz prison, which was no more than a block from the Fick home. Angelika saw the released prisoners running frantically towards freedom.

In her writings, Marta Hegemann described the atmosphere near Hildeboldplatz (Hildebold Square) where she had moved with her husband Anton Räderscheidt. She recalled wagons packed with wild, shouting men racing around the square, while the sound of shattering windows filled the air as stores were looted. She recalled seeing red flags and officers with their epaulettes ripped off until mounted police rode by and drove the people off the streets.[4] Angelika turned 19 on 20 November 1918 in the midst of this turmoil. She was filled with hope because she felt that artists and the masses would save Germany from the Armageddon of war. In Berlin, Angelika's Uncle Otto was one of a group of revolutionary-minded artists, architects, writers and composers who formed the Novembergruppe (November Group), with its assertion that the arts would lead the masses to a better world.

In Cologne, Karl Nierendorf founded the Gesellschaft der Künste (Society of Arts), which proclaimed itself to be in the service of spiritual renewal in the Rhineland. Johannes T. Baargeld, a friend of Uncle Otto, put up money for *Der Ventilator* (The Fan), an art-political supplement to the leftist newspaper *Sozialistische Republik* (Socialist Republic). Angelika and her friends from the Jatho circle were at the heart of these overlapping Cologne initiatives for renewal. An anonymous writer in *Der Ventilator* criticized old, gray Cologne for trudging along as usual and controlling the perception



pl. 7 Angelika Hoerle, **Eugen Léviné**, 1919 (cat. 2.2)



pl. 8 Angelika Hoerle, **Jean Jaurès**, 1919 (cat. 2.1)

of what was to be considered art. Meanwhile, the Society of Arts stated in its publication *Der Strom* (The River) that art museums should be converted from places that housed dead art to spaces that would provide a forum for living arts and artists.

Hope Denied

On 6 December 1918 the British Army occupied Cologne. Curfews, censorship and restrictions followed. To the horror of those striving to bring about a brighter future, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, guiding lights for the political left, were brutally murdered just over a month later on 15 January 1919. Angelika heard details of the murders from Uncle Otto who attended Liebknecht's funeral. More shocking news arrived a few days later when the SPD prevailed in Germany's first postwar election, signifying that the establishment had retained power.

The assassination of Kurt Eisner, leader of the new Bavarian Republic, and the banning of *Der Ventilator* by British censors in Cologne were the final blows for the Jathos and Franz W. Seiwert. They retreated to the Eifel mountain range outside Cologne to the village of Simonskall. In a 600-year-old building called the Junkerhaus (Nobleman's House), they read avidly and discussed strategies for a new society with a steady stream of visitors. They believed society's problems were rooted in the fact that the masses were too far removed from the creative power of art, and that to change society they needed to retrieve art from the bourgeois and upper classes, who had co-opted it for their own purposes. The Simonskall refugees explored the roots of creativity to find outlets for those stifled by moribund institutions. They planned to publish works through their own press, the Kalltal Verlag, which would be founded on principles of community.

The Jathos invited Angelika and Heinrich to Simonskall, and in June 1919 the two went there as honeymooners. The trip to the Eifel required a train ride, wagon ride and a walk – considered too demanding by the urbane Heinrich. He cowered at the sound of the wind through the trees because it reminded him of bullets that whizzed by him in the trenches. Angelika undoubtedly kept hearing her father's denunciation of her marriage. In later years Willy captured the fierce inflection when he repeated their father's bitter words: "I no longer have a daughter." Käthe Jatho presented the jittery newlyweds with her poem *Gemeinschaft* (Togetherness).

Unfortunately, the Eifel retreat would soon be thrust back into reality when Ret Marut narrowly escaped death to relate the news that president-elect Friedrich Ebert had sent General Baron von Epp with 30,000 Freikorps (Free Corps)[5] troops to Bavaria to suppress the Republic. Within only a few weeks, the troops had slaughtered almost a thousand people, including the anarchist Gustav Landauer who was stomped to death in Munich after uttering his poignant last words: "To think that you are human beings."[6]

The deaths of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Eisner and Landauer, combined with Marut's grisly



pl. 9 **Lebendige** (The Living), recto, 1919 (cat. 2)



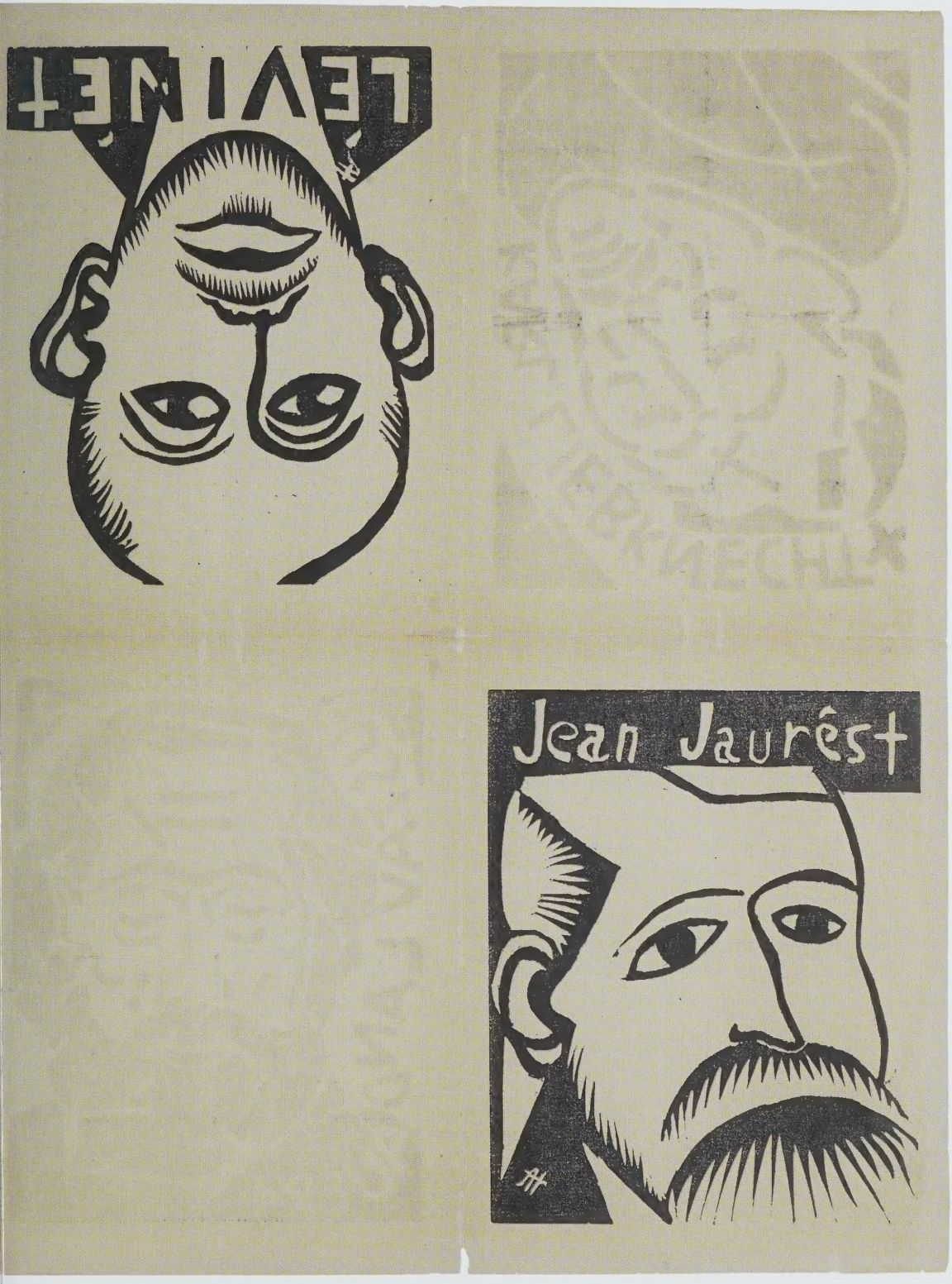
LEBENDIGE



DER AKTIVE VERLAG KÖLN

Die Schnitte dieses Heftes sind von
P. ABELEN, A. HOERLE, A. RÄDERSCHEIDT
F. W. SEIWERT

pl. 10 **Lebendige** (The Living), verso, 1919 (cat. 2)


LEVI NET
Jean Jaurès

K A T A L O G

Es ist das Risiko der Damen ganz ungemein.

Hans Arp 1—6) Zeichnungen
J. T. Baargeld 7) Static-Station
8) 1 π d — 10 arp = 0,01 dada
8a) Zeichnung
Hans Bolz 9) Kopf
Max Ernst 10) Das jüngste Gericht
11) Aquis submersus
12) Architekt
13) Stilleben
14) Gerechtigkeit
15) Fenster
16, 17) 2 Plastiken
Angelika Hoerle 18) Liebespaar
19) Reiterin
Heinrich Hoerle 20) Porträt einer Liliputanerin
21) Bildnis
22—26) Zeichnungen
Paul Klee 27) Brunst
28) Zwei gleich eins

Meister, unbekannter aus dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts

29) Frau mit Violine
30) Frau mit Harfe

Meister, unbekannter aus dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts

31) Katzen
32) Schweine
33) Sakrament
34) Kreuzigung
35) Kirche
36—39) Porträts
40) Asyl des sanspatriotes
Anton Räderscheidt 41, 42) Plastiken
F. W. Seiwert 43) Kopf (Pastell)
44) Pastell
45—49) Plastiken
Kinderzeichnungen 50—53)
Plastiken 54) Negerplastik
55—58) Polarisationskurven (Leihgabe der Fa. Leyboldt)
59) Zunftpfeife
60) Klavierhammer der Fa. Mand

61) **Expressionistische Fotografien** von Kokoschka, Davringhausen, M. Oppenheimer und einem unbekannten Fotografen.

pl. 11 Angelika Hoerle, listing for **Liebespaar** (Lovers) in *Bulletin D* catalogue, c. 1919 (cat. 6.1)

tales, spawned the idea for an homage to murdered activists. The title *Lebendige* (The Living) [see cat. 2] suggested that the names and spirit of the martyrs would live on. Angelika worked on the woodcuts with Franz W. Seiwert, Anton Räderscheidt and Peter Abelen, who had started their careers before the war. The 19-year-old's collaboration was a remarkable testament to her political acuity and artistic skill [see cats. 2.1, 2.2]. She then set about working on a special edition of *Sozialistische Republik* for the upcoming fall city elections. The idea for the political cartoon "Das Ziel der Revolution ist erreicht!" ("The goals of the revolution have been accomplished!") [fig. 9] came from the newspaper article "Der neue Polizeipraesident Runge" in the 10 September 1919 issue of *Rheinische Zeitung* (Rhenish Newspaper). The article described how Paul Runge, a member of the Prussian Parliament and Cologne's Police President, promised the police positions in the SPD from which they had previously been barred.[7] The quick-witted Angelika seized on Runge's speech to expose and satirize the SPD's use of bribery to retain its shaky hold on power.

With the war-tainted SPD holding on, Angelika and those around her believed, as Bakunin did, that the revolution needed to be taken to the streets. Willy later related that they snuck out past curfew to post art on doors, walls and even the Cologne cathedral, persisting even after the police were mobilized to pursue them. They insisted that art had to be displayed where everyone would be able to see it, not in art museums where female artists and the working classes were noticeably absent. Prior to the election, a drawing for Heinrich's *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio) bearing the stamp of the United Socialist Party (USPD) appeared in Cologne [fig. 6].



fig. 6 Heinrich Hoerle, Poster Design for United Socialist Party (USPD) from **Krüppelmappe**, 1918

The Impetus for Dada in Cologne

Cologne had been imbued with the spirit of Dada for some time. The slaughters in Munich were, however, the tipping point. When Ernst and Baargeld suggested introducing Dada into the Society of Arts exhibition at the Kölnischer Kunstverein (Cologne Art Association), Angelika, Heinrich, Uncle Otto and Willy agreed. However, Seiwert dismissed Dada as an anti-bourgeois harlequinade and stood firm in his divergent opinion that it would not serve the proletariat. When Räderscheidt and Nierendorf agreed with Seiwert, the director



fig. 7 Franz von Stuck's **Amazone** (Amazon) sculpture outside the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum

of the Cologne Art Association separated the exhibition into two sections. The Dada space for the Gruppe D (Group D) artists was called Section D.

The American collector Katherine Dreier visited the Dada section of the exhibition and was so impressed that she wanted to bring it to New York. Dreier recognized the homage to her friend Marcel Duchamp's readymades in the sculpture section where African art was juxtaposed with polarization curves from the Leyboldt Company, a piano tuning key and an antique guild pipe.

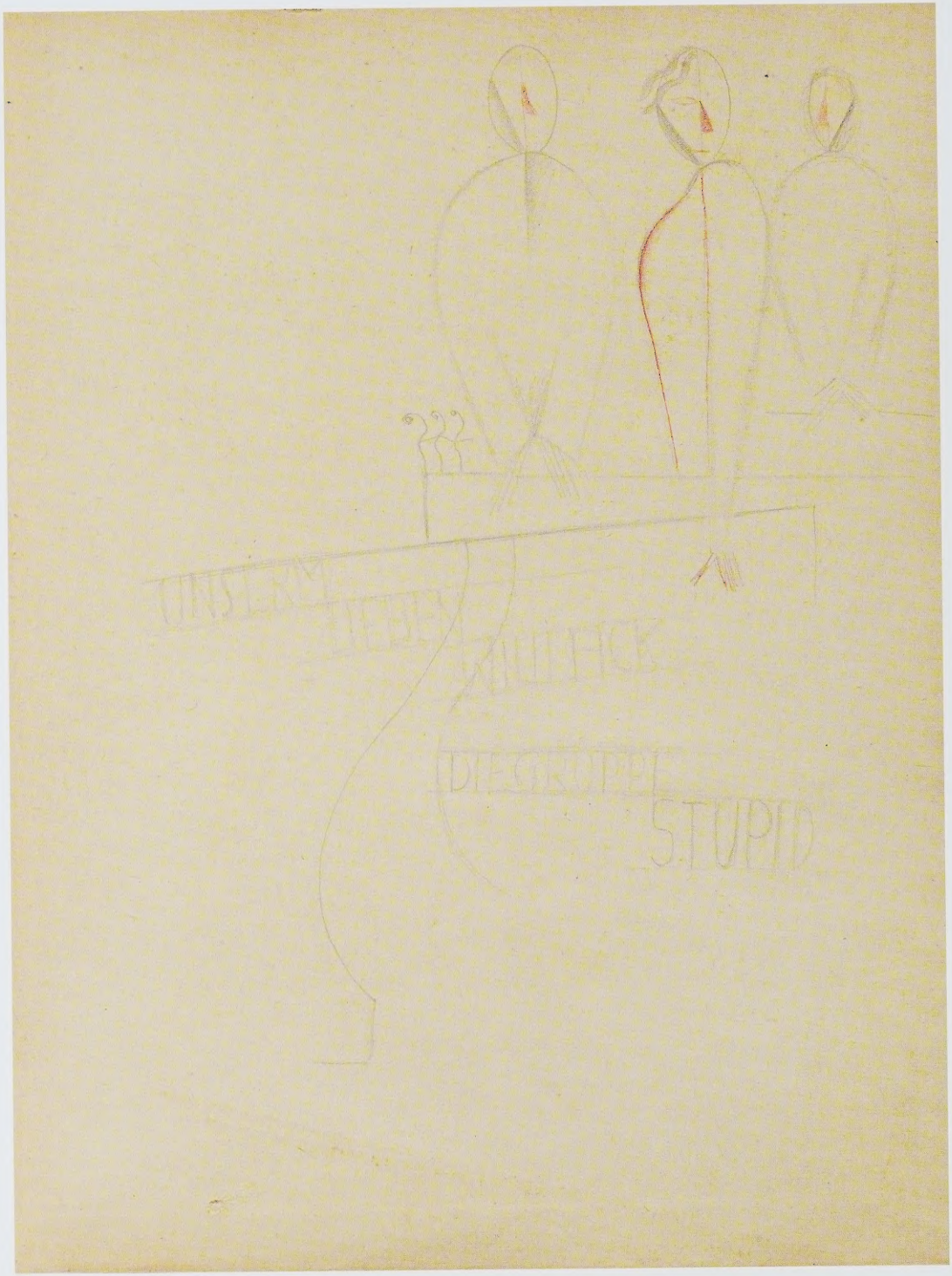
Angelika had two works in the exhibition [see cat. 6.1]. *Reiterin* (Rider) [see cat. 5] graced the inside back cover of *Bulletin D*, the catalogue for the Dada section. The drawing was a spoof of Franz von Stuck's *Amazone* (Amazon) [fig. 7], a traditional sculpture purchased by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in 1915. Angelika's work references the mythical nation of Amazon women, warriors who cut off one breast to carry out attacks more easily with a bow and arrow. Her rider is so unwarlike that she has three breasts – one to spare. Angelika depicted her subject with a small sprig of pubic hair and an equestrian hat, mocking women who remained social and sexual objects. Like von Stuck's piece, they were mired in the past.

The split in the Society of Arts exhibition raised another issue, namely artists' relationships to the commercial aspect of art. In spite of the purported philosophy of renewal, the organization's founder and head Karl Nierendorf represented the business of art. Those espousing Dada did not. According to the artist Gottfried Brockmann, Heinrich had part-time contracts to paint bars and nightclubs. To supplement their meagre income, Angelika and Heinrich also created wallpaper patterns for Nitsche and Kron as well as fabric designs for "tie maker" Hermann Lange, the director of Krefeld's United Silk Weaving. They moved to an attic apartment in Lindenthal, a suburb of Cologne where rent was less expensive. Hoerle created *Kremschnitte* (Powder Puff) art – flower vases and such. Marta Hegemann described how she and Angelika sat in pubs waiting for their husbands to sell their powder puff art so that they could heat their apartments and pay their bills.

In the hard winter of 1919, weeks after the Group D exhibition, *Ausstellung für das werktätige Volk* (Exhibition for the Working People) opened quietly at the Cologne Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Applied Art). Franz W. Seiwert, Max Ernst and Willy Fick had works in that exhibition for which Luise Straus gave a lecture entitled "Progressive Art and Working People."



pl. 12 Angelika Hoerle, **Reiterin** (Rider), 1919 (cat. 5)



pl. 13 Angelika Hoerle, **UNSERM / LIEBEN / WILLI FICK / DIE GRUPPE / STUPID** (To our dear Willy Fick, The Stupid Group), c. 7 February 1920 (cat. 8)



pl. 14 Angelika Hoerle, **Ohne Titel** (Untitled), 1920 (cat. 10)

In words that Angelika could have spoken, a reviewer stated: "For the artist/politician there is only one direction, that being to bring ordinary people and artists to a mutual understanding of one another."[8] The article emphasized that the price of the artworks was intended to encourage broader access to the arts.

The Rift that was Stupid

Prior to the disagreement about Dada, there had been talk of using the Hegemann-Räderscheidt apartment on Hildebold Square as the venue for a new arts/discussion group. While the group that would be called Stupid was taking shape, Angelika and Heinrich worked on projects with Max Ernst and Johannes T. Baargeld. Ernst had turned to the Hoerles to publish his portfolio *Fiat Modes, pereat ars* (Let There Be Fashion, Down with Art), as Angelika and Heinrich had recently started operating a publishing company from their home.

Ernst dedicated an etching to Angelika and Heinz [Heinrich] in 1919 when they were co-publishers of *Fiat Modes* and the international Dada periodical *die schammade*.[9] In this period of intense collaboration, the subject of control of the arts loomed large. The lithograph in *Fiat Modes* with the inscription *Zur neuen Kunst?* (Towards a New Art?) [fig. 8] bore the sarcastic words: "Get your fingers off holy art." As a sort of inside joke, the lithograph also bore the name of Ernesto di Fiori, an Italian artist popular in Berlin at the time. Powerful gallery owner Alfred Flechtheim represented di Fiori. To Angelika and Max Ernst, gallery owners

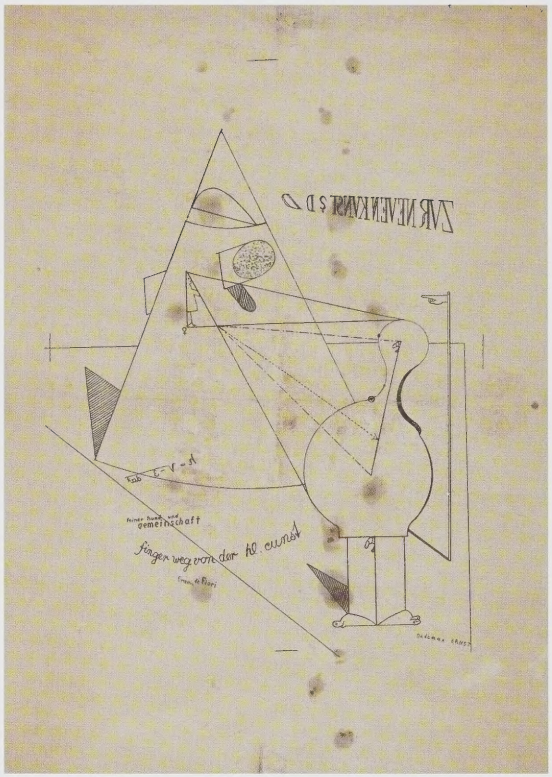


fig. 8 Max Ernst, **Ohne Titel** (Untitled), January/February 1920

such as Nierendorf and Flechtheim acted as the arbiters of taste and took their cut for it. They did not promote proletarian access to the arts. Ernst's *Fiat Modes* mocked the status quo of the commercial art world represented by Nierendorf and Flechtheim.

The problems that had arisen during the Section D exhibition had created further tensions by February 1920 between the Hoerles and the group that by then called itself Weststupidien 3 – Max Ernst, Johannes T. Baargeld and Jean (Hans) Arp, who saw themselves as the region's major talents. Ernst and Baargeld had reached out to the international arts community partially because they felt stifled in Cologne.

Whereas Ernst tended to get negative reviews, Heinrich's *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio) at the Museum of Applied Arts had received favourable ones, while a newspaper article titled "In the Cologne Dadaheim" referred to the Hoerle home rather than Ernst's. The article proclaimed that Heinrich was too talented to remain the duke of the dilettantes, and described Angelika as the elegant *Meisterin* (female master) of Dada.[10]

A telling indicator of the split between the two groups could be found inside the book that Angelika gave her brother Willy for his birthday on February 7. *Schwedische Felsbilder* (Swedish Rock Art) bore a drawing of three bird people and an inscription by Angelika that read: *UNSERM | LIEBEN | WILLI FICK | DIE GRUPPE | STUPID* (To our dear Willy Fick, The Stupid Group) [see cat. 8]. Angelika, Heinrich and Willy were the founding members of Stupid, which also included Marta Hegemann, Anton Räderscheidt and Franz W. Seiwert. Tensions came to a head when Ernst and Baargeld learned on 25 February 1920 that they were shut out of the Paris Section d'Or exhibition. They took until April to issue a revised *die schammade* issue replete with slurs against those they held responsible for their various rejections. Angelika's contribution to the issue, the scurrilous *Röhren* (Cylinders), showcased her biting humour [see cat. 11]. The piece depicts several cylinders as erect, the largest of which has shot a male/female cell into the air. A limp cylinder has ejaculated a small weight as its load, while a tiny male and female cylinder couple (Angelika and Heinrich?) walk off, seemingly on a tightrope, with an erect cylinder.

Continuing Unrest 1920–1921

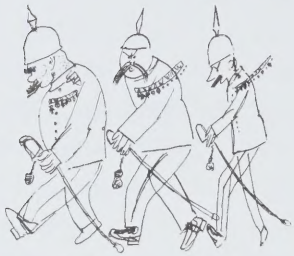
The political situation in Germany, which had yet to stabilize after World War I, took a turn for the worse in 1920. The right-wing Kapp Putsch sought to put a military dictatorship in place. President Ebert and his government fled Berlin calling for a general strike to weaken the putschists. The workers responded, but not merely with a strike. Fifty thousand left-wing workers armed themselves to form the Ruhr Red Army. In hand-to-hand combat they defeated Freikorps troops and regular army units affiliated with the Kapp Putsch, while 300,000 mine workers voiced strong support for the actions of the Ruhr Red Army.

The Ruhr successes led to a sense of worker empowerment. However, Ebert failed to negotiate with the strikers when he returned to Berlin. Instead he constituted a force of regular government troops augmented with his own Freikorps. As was the case with the suppression of the Bavarian Republic in May 1919, nearly a thousand workers died in the bitter fighting that ensued. Although the Stupid group at Hildebold Square was upset by the slaughter, they were energized by the evidence of proletariat self-determination and renewed their efforts to foster a people's art.

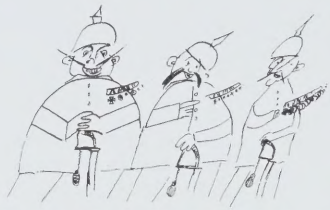
Meanwhile, a clash on Dresden's Post Square during the Kapp Putsch had resulted in damage to Peter Paul Rubens's *Bathsheba* in the nearby Zwinger Museum. Oskar Kokoshka, a professor at the Dresden Academy of Art, published an appeal in more than forty German newspapers

Das Ziel der Revolution ist erreicht!

(Dazu die „Rheinische Zeitung" No. 204 lesen.)



„Die Polizeiwachtmeister waren dem Rufe ihres neuen Vorgesetzten mit geteilten Gefühlen gefolgt."



„Jedoch mehr und mehr heiterten sich die umwölkten Mienen der Beamten bei der Ansprache auf, die der neue Herr Vorgesetzte zu seinen versammelten Untergebenen sprach."

Der neue Polizei-Präsident hatte in einer Ansprache „auf den Wandel der Zeiten hingewiesen, **daß auch jetzt Anhänger der Sozialdemokratie die höheren Verwaltungsämter besetzen könnten, wovon sie früher ausgeschlossen waren".**

Schiebertum und Kapitalismus.

Wer ein Sittenbildnis unserer Zeit malen wollte, müßte sich vor allem zu einem riesigen Format entschließen; denn der Stoff ist ungeheuer. So eine Art Deckengemälde riesigster Dimensionen. Im Mittelpunkt dieses Kunstwerkes wäre der „Vater Kapitalismus" zu malen — möglichst in nackter Schönheit. Nur im protzigen Pelzkragen um den feisten Nacken und die dicken Backen, Monokel, Zylinder, eine schwulstige Brieftasche wären als Zugaben unerläßlich. Im Gesicht etwas Geistloses vermischt mit Hartnäckigkeit, ein wenig Brutalität und Gier. Rings herum um die anmutige Gestalt müßte der Maler einen Kranz allerliebster Bilder aus der Schieberbranche winden: Kavaliere feinster Garnitur, die in etwa alle dem Vater Kapitalismus ähnlich sähen, dazu Wein- und Sektgelage, ein ganzer Troß liederlicher Weiber, Autos, Zigaretten, Schmutzkübel, Eisenbahnwaggons etc. alles tapeziert und umflattert von „braunen Lappen". Der übrigbleibende Flächenraum des Kolossalgemäldes könnte bequem und sinngemäß mit der Not des Volkes illustriert werden.

Dem Beschauer späterer Zeiten wäre damit das Verständnis für den Jammer unserer Zeit wesentlich erleichtert. Er könnte sich vielleicht in das hineindenken, was wir am eignen Leibe erfahren: die Ausbeutung der Volksmassen durch eine kleine Zahl gemeiner und minderwertiger Menschen

Es wäre damit auch ein Zusammenhang dargestellt, den die wenigsten Zeitgenossen erkennen: **der Kapitalismus als Vater des Schiebertums.**

Das wird dem Kapitalisten und manchem andern betremdlich klingen, da unsere Staatsform die Schieber angeblich nicht duldet. Ja, sie duldet sie nicht, aber erzeugt und ernährt sie, daß sie gedeihen wie die Flöhe bei einem Hunde.

Ja, sie gedeihen. In Wäldern und auf Straßen, an Lattenzäunen und in Vergnügungslokalen, in Cabarets und Weinstuben wächst diese nicht sehr appetitliche Pflanze unserer Kultur.

Und mag auch der kapitalistische Staat ernstlich und energisch dagegen ankämpfen — er kann seine Söhne nicht verleugnen, er wird nichts gegen sie ausrichten, denn er ist wie sie: ein Schieber und Parasit.

Wer das nicht glaubt, der möge an die Profite der **Kriegsgesellschaften** denken, die doch staatliche Einrichtungen waren und größtenteils auch heute noch ihr stilles, aber einträgliches Dasein weiterführen, der erinnere sich der Z.-E.-G., die ½ Liter sterilisierter „Auslandsmilch" für 1.30 Mk. verkaufte, als dieselbe Milch auf dem Lande unsterilisiert noch 20 Pfg. kostete; der suche in seinem Gedächtnis, ob er nicht 100 Beispiele findet, wo der Staat den kleinen Mann bewucherte, daß ihm die Haare zu Berge standen, — der vergesse nicht, daß der Staat und die ihm assistierenden Kommunalverbände heute noch uns bisweilen für teures Geld Lebensmittel liefern, die man in menschlichen Zeiten kaum dem Vieh gegeben hätte, und wie sie selbst im Altertum von Sklaven nicht verzehrt wurden. Man komme nicht mit Ausreden, denn die Erde ist heute noch ebenso fruchtbar und ertragreich wie vor 10 Jahren. Die Ursache ist die, daß unser kapitalistischer Staat **in der Praxis** dieselbe Moral verwendet, wie ein Schieber. Da ist in erster Linie die Rücksichtslosigkeit gegenüber den Konsumenten zu nennen (vgl. die Nahrungsmittel). Es gibt weitere hübsche, Staat und Schiebertum gemeinsame Eigenschaften, die ja wesentlich sind: das Streben nach unangemessenem Gewinn, oder besser, hemmungslose Profitgier und die lange Kette der Vermittler (der endlose Beamtenapparat).

Und was ist, um das Kind beim Namen zu nennen, die ganze **Geheimdiplomatie** im Prinzip anders als eine dauernde ungeheure Schiebung?

Der kapitalistische Staat im Kampf gegen die Schieber? Ein drolliger Kampf. Zum Lachen! Ein Roßtäuscher gegen den andern! Aber der Staat kämpft

Lest die „Sozialistische Republik"!

Abonniert auf sie durch die Post.
(Viertelj. M. 2,60, monatl. 87 Pf.)

Verlangt sie an den Kiosken.

nicht gegen die Schieber. Nein, er sieht sie groß. Er gibt ihnen mit gutem Beispiel voran, er hat meist die Moralprinzipien entwickelt, die dem Schiebertum Luft und Leben, Grund und Boden gaben.

Er sieht sie groß durch seine **minderwertige Gesetzgebung** und durch die noch schlechtere Handhabung der Gesetze; der Gesetze und Gesetzorgane, die wohl den harmlosen Hamsterer am Schopfe fassen, aber dem gewiegten Schieber nicht die geringsten Beschwerden machen; durch Gesetze, die andererseits die sehr begreifliche menschliche Sehnsucht nach gut essen und trinken ganz dem Schieber anstiefterte. Wenn man uns zwingt, uns mit 4 Pfd. schlechtem Brot und 150 gr Fleisch pro Woche zu begnügen, wird damit nicht naturnotwendig jener Mann auf den Plan gerufen, der alles liefern kann, was der Vater Staat uns vorenthält?

Und wenn jener Mann das tut, warum wohl? Aus Mitleid? Nein, aus Gewinnsucht, Profitmacherei, skrupellosester Profitmacherei; **er will Kapital!** Kapital, das ihm allen Genuß verschafft, den die Erde bietet, das ihm der Schlüssel ist zu einem Leben ausschweifender Genußsucht, das ihm gestattet, sich Villen und Gärten zu kaufen, Kapital, das ihn ohne Arbeit ernährt. Das ist die Lockung, mit der das heutige kapitalistische System Schieber und Schwindler und Betrüger aller Art erzeugt und obenan bringt. Denn **„gerade nur diesen Menschensorten läßt es die Wege offen. Ein ehrlicher Mensch kann sich** diesen Wegen nimmer anvertrauen und kommt auch auf andere Weise anerkanntermaßen „nicht hoch." Man zeige mir den Arbeiter, dem es gegeben wäre, durch seiner Hände Kraft sich Nahrung und Kleidung in ausreichendem Maße zu beschaffen, der sich gar vom Ueberschuß einen besonderen Genuß verschaffen könnte; wo ist der Angestellte, der auch nur soviel übrig hätte, daß er sich den Besuch des Theaters oder die Anschaffung einer Bibliothek leisten könnte? Wo ist der Kleinbürger, der es noch zu etwas bringt, wenn er nicht von Hause aus selber ein Kapitalist oder ein Gauner ist?

So weisen Kapitalismus und die ihm dienstbare Staatsform die Wege. Der arme Schlucker, der sich hinreichend für einen Spitzbuben hält, glaubt am ehesten als Schieber dieses Talent verwerten zu können. Wer Geld hat und schon ein richtiger Ganner ist, glaubt in kürzester Frist sein Kapital verzehnfachen zu müssen. Daß seine Geldjobberei auf Kosten tausend hungriger Mäuler geht, das sieht die Söhne des Kapitalismus nicht an. Der Weg geht über Leichen — er ist Mode geworden.

Und so sehen wir unsere Jüngelchen, Kavaliere und tüchtige Geschäftsleute schieben, als sei es die selbstverständlichste Sache von der Welt, seine Mitmenschen zu bewuchern und sich selbst auf jede Weise zu bereichern. Diese Selbstverständlichkeit ist so groß, daß von 100 Leuten, die ich auf der Straße darüber befragen würde, 99 sicher die Antwort gäben. „Ja, warum denn nicht!"

Das ist die „Moral", auf der das Schiebertum blüht, die Moral, **die der Kapitalismus** großgezogen, ja aus sich selbst herausprodusiert und der Welt geschenkt hat, indem er den Profit und die Begehrlichkeit als Triebfeder aller Tätigkeit erklärte. Die frohe Arbeit, die Arbeit um ihrer selbst willen, wie sie die meisten Menschen gerne leisten würden, hat er degradiert, hat er zur Sklavenarbeit gemacht.

Der Spekulant, der Volkswucherer, das Gaunertum triumphiert!

Und da wundert man sich über Arbeitsmüdigkeit?

Viel eher sollte man sich wundern, daß den Arbeitern endlich erst die Augen aufgehen; denn die haben wahrhaftig lange geschlafen und ein großer Teil von ihnen schläft leider heute noch unter dem Ebert-Noske'schen Freiheitsbanne, solange mit Lügen eingelullt, bis die Schergen der Reaktion und die Interessengemeinschaft der Kapitalisten, der Geldjobber, der Militaristen und der gekrönten Schieber soweit sind, daß sie dem Proletariat vollends wieder die Hände auf den Rücken binden und die Füße an die Tretmühle ketten können. Qu.

Große allgemeine Wählerversammlungen

Ehrenfeld	**Köln**	**Mülheim**
Sonntag, den 28. September, vorm. 10 Uhr im Helios-Kino, Venloerstraße	Montag, den 29. September, nachm. 6 Uhr im großen Gürzenich.	Dienstag, den 30. September nachm. 6 Uhr

Warum muß die U. S. P. ins Rathaus?

fig.9 Angelika Hoerle, **"Das Ziel der Revolution ist erreicht!"** ("The goals of the revolution have been accomplished"), September 1919



fig. 10 Heinrich Hoerle, **Aufmarsch der unter dem Regime der Ebert-Noske Ermordeten** (March of those Murdered during the Ebert-Noske Regime), 1921



fig. 11 Willy Fick, **Fisch und Meerwesen** (Fish and Mermaid), c. 1920–1921

urging the public to take measures to preserve the national cultural heritage during times of civil strife.

Angelika and other agitators for a people's art reacted with rage. Seiwert's article "Das Loch in Rubens Schinken" (The Hole in Rubens's Bacon) appeared in *Die Aktion*. His opening salvo "So there are a few holes in Rubens's 'Bacon'! Help! Culture is in danger!"[11] turned serious when Seiwert chastised professional guardians of culture for being unmoved by the deaths of thousands of workers. Seiwert's parting shot concluded that holes were nothing new in art galleries because these institutions habitually displayed framed holes. The sentiment that art museums housed dead art mirrored Angelika's actions to move living art into the streets among the people.

Angelika's position that museums were establishment gatekeepers for commercial enterprise would be reinforced when the new director of the Museum of Applied Arts arbitrarily excluded Ernst and Baargeld's assemblages from an upcoming jury-free exhibition. Already smarting from their Section d'Or rejection in Paris, Baargeld and Ernst opened an alternative Dada exhibition at the Brauhaus Winter. Willy Fick was the only member of Stupid to participate – in the guise of an anonymous, vulgar dilettante.

Willy recounted that he arrived late clad in an oversized brightly checkered jacket. He carried an unfinished work which had a carpenter's measure dangling from it. Angelika and other "Stupids" visited but did not contribute to the hastily assembled exhibition, which also included a girl in a communion dress reciting risqué poetry. Pressed to speak to reporters, Willy spontaneously claimed that his work was a journey to the centre of the earth. When the press wandered off to other oddities, such as a fish tank with a wig floating in red water, Otto Freundlich hissed at Willy, "You managed to embarrass even us [the Stupids]!"

In spite of Willy's participation in the Brauhaus Winter exhibition, he was solidly aligned with the Stupid group's search for a people's art. His explorations of fairytale themes were equivalent to Angelika's *Ohne Titel* (Untitled) [see cat. 10]. Whereas Angelika looked for people's art in the childhood of man, Willy looked for it in the childhood of the individual [fig. 11].

A not so Stupid World

The Hegemann-Räderscheidt home opened as a gallery and discussion venue in mid-1920. Poet Walter Rheiner reviewed the permanent display and rhapsodized about simple, pure, uncultivated art that spoke to the "original nurturing source of all human feeling, thinking and acting." Rheiner understood Stupid's attempt to create "another better world."[12] Meanwhile, Franz W. Seiwert explained the mode of thinking that drove the style of the "new Cologne Arts School, Hildebold Square 9," saying that he, Marta Hegemann, Anton Räderscheidt, Willy Fick, and Heinrich and Angelika Hoerle wanted to be "the voice of the masses" and "to make visible their creative will."[13]

Angelika had twelve works on display and a prospectus for *ABC Bilderbuch* (ABC Picture Book) [see cat. 12]. She sought to use this picture book series as a model to illustrate her belief that the masses could formulate their own visual language. Angelika instinctively understood Seiwert's conviction that "it's not about creating knowledge or culture for the proletariat because that would serve only to keep the proletariat as the masses. It's much more about having a proletarian culture that allows them to rise up to free themselves."[14]

By the end of 1920, Angelika had completed four letters of her alphabet in a straightforward style that spoke to Stupid's drive to simplify as a means of reaching out to the masses. According to her brother Willy, Angelika became as simple and direct in her life as she became in her art from 1920 onwards. In an unpublished manuscript, Marta Hegemann described a similar transformation in which she likened the new Angelika to a Greek goddess with clear lines. Even Gottfried Brockmann detected this shift in an exchange that the more direct Angelika had with her husband:

> Angelika propped her willowy arms on the table and looked at me attentively as I started to read. Right in the middle of my reading [Heinrich] sprang up and shouted, "That's terrible stuff. Such sentimental shit!" He took the book from my hands and started an incensed declamation until Angelika cut in with, "Heinz, do you really, really always have to destroy everything. Can't you see that he's still a child!"[15]

The seventeen-year-old Brockmann, an aspiring artist at that time, considered Angelika his guardian angel from that day forward.

This period marked the stage in Angelika's career when she began to tenaciously question the roles of women in society. In *Elastikakt* (Acrobat) [see cat. 21] she portrays a contorted woman with her boot resting on her head. Angelika, who liked visual puns, played with the idea of standing something on its head, in this case female empowerment. The woman in this work has failed to take ownership of her own body. By contrast, the woman in *Akt* (Balancing Woman) [see cat. 27.1] without corset or boots stands confident in her body and its power.

Ironically, it was also around this time that Angelika's own body began to betray her, as she suffered the first bout of tuberculosis. Her illness, however, did not keep her from embracing the struggle to create a proletarian culture. Seeking to form a new publishing house, Angelika, Heinrich and Franz W. Seiwert drafted a letter that was sent to Conrad Felixmüller, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann and Frans Masereel, artists who were all well connected in Germany and the international arts community. The letter read:

> We propose to establish a publishing house for the printing of brochures which will represent diverse grievances against middle class culture and which will propagate proletarian art. Are you prepared to help us in this undertaking? The brochures are intended to be a compendium of drawings of artists who

im november 1920 erscheint

a b c

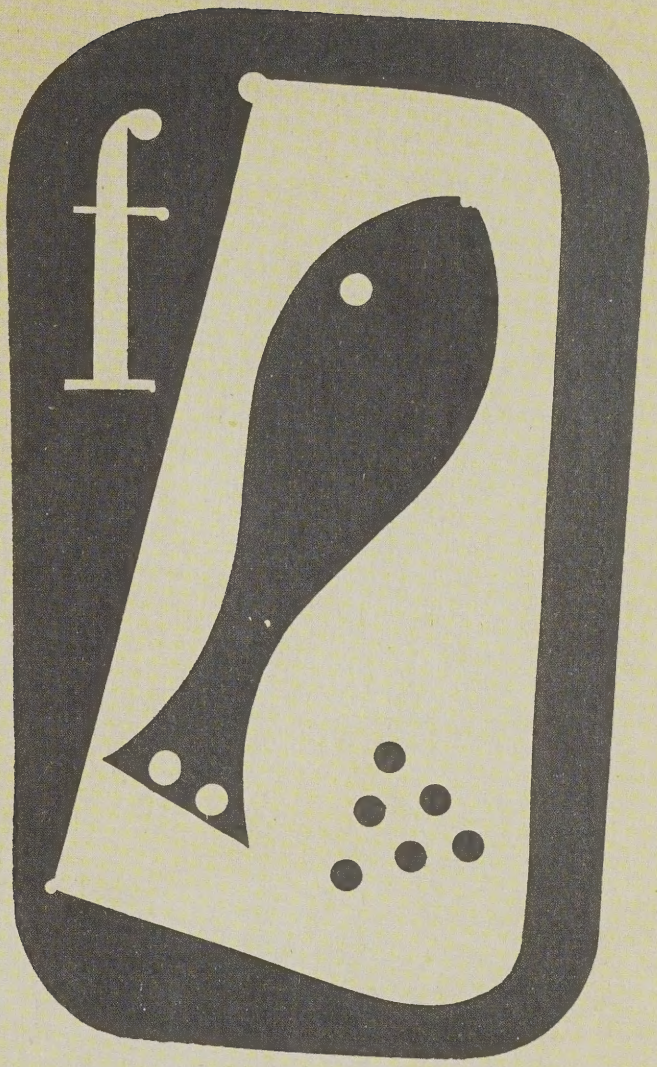
ein bilderbuch
mit 25 schnitten
von angelika hoerle

auflage 100 bücher
auf sehr gutes papier gedruckt
numeriert und signiert

subscriptionspreis 20 mark
nach erscheinen erheblich teurer

interessenten lassen sich eintragen
in die subscriptionsliste
durch

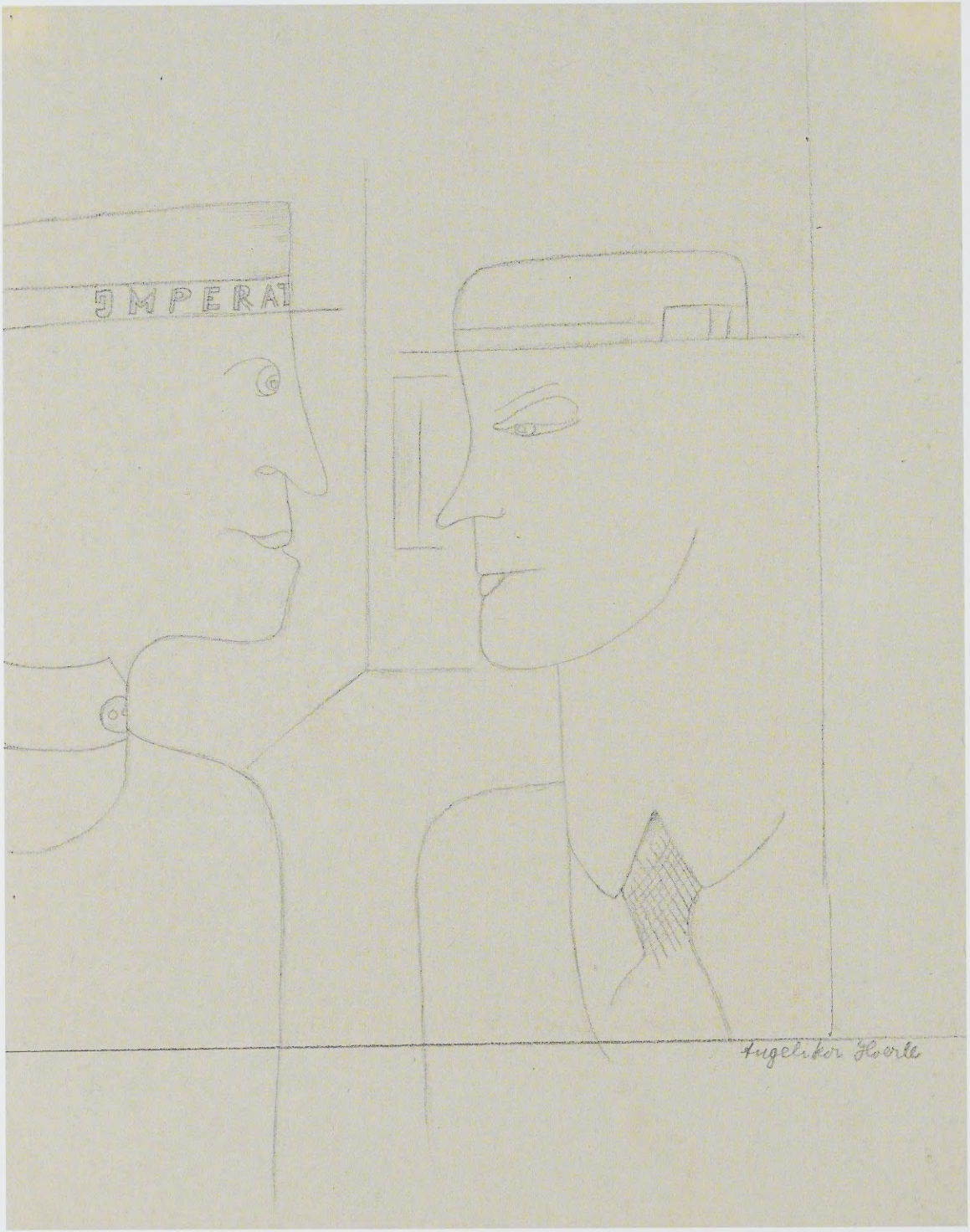
verlag stupid
köln hilde bold platz 9



kunstausstellung stupid
köln hilde bold platz 9 I.
mittwochs 3—7 uhr
sonntags 11—2 uhr
eintritt 1 mark

verlag stupid köln druck lutz köln ehrenfeld

pl. 15 Angelika Hoerle, **ABC Bilderbuch** (ABC Picture Book), flyer printed by Stupid Verlag, 1920 (cat. 12)



pl. 16 Angelika Hoerle, **Hotelboy und Mann I** (Hotel Boy and Man I), 1920 (cat. 16)

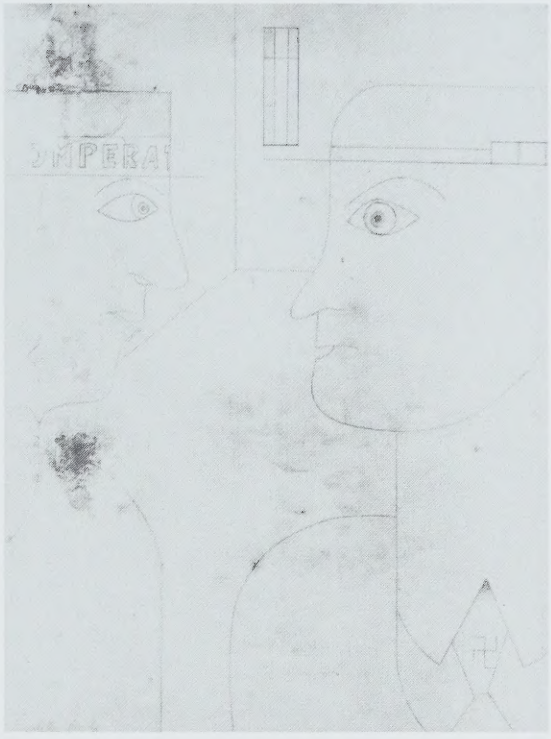
are engaged in proletarian art with texts in which they explain their attitudes towards art. The proposed title is "Proletarian Art."[16]

Angelika believed passionately in the propagation of proletarian art. As part of his commitment to the ideal, Seiwert joined the Freie Arbeiter Union Deutschlands (Free Workers' Union of Germany) and spoke to the Radical Leftist Youth of Aachen. The Aachen connection provided an opportunity for Stupid to launch "grievances against middle class culture."

Stupid Does Dada

In spite of Franz W. Seiwert's former denunciation of Dada, Heinrich, Anton Räderscheidt, Willy Fick, and maybe even Angelika, agreed to help with a Dada evening. The event was held in 1921 at Aachen's Grand Monarch Hotel under the aegis of William Dunstheimer, who was with the Aachen branch of the Free Workers' Union of Germany.

Highly colourful handmade "Anna Blume Dances" posters appeared around Aachen. Kurt Schwitters's romantic, cliché-filled poem "Anna Blume" had been much talked about in 1919 after it was pasted on lampposts throughout Hanover. Members of the public became so outraged that some went so far as to call for the arrest of Anna Blume. As a result, the "Anna Blume Dances" poster would have provoked strong interest for the Hotel Monarch event. The upscale Hotel Monarch venue indicated



pl. 17 Angelika Hoerle, **Hotelboy und Mann II** (Hotel Boy and Man II), 1920 (cat. 17)

the evening was intended to expose "the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie" rather than "make visible the creative will of the masses," phrases that were both lifted from previous Seiwert statements regarding the purposes of Stupid.

Heinrich sat with a cashbox charging admission to the grand salon. Among the audience members was a Belgian occupation officer with his date. The event started when Dunstheimer started to read a passage from Friedrich Schiller. While the astounded audience absorbed that there was no connection to Anna Blume, another figure appeared. He unfolded a paper that detailed tariffs for metal workers and began reading. As readings overlapped and became



pl. 18 Angelika Hoerle, **Akt** (Balancing Woman), 1922 (cat. 27.1)

louder, the audience grew restive, then noisily stood up and demanded to know what was happening. The normally formal waiters intervened by shouting, "Please stay off the upholstery!" The occupation officer demanded a refund before Heinrich disappeared with the cashbox.

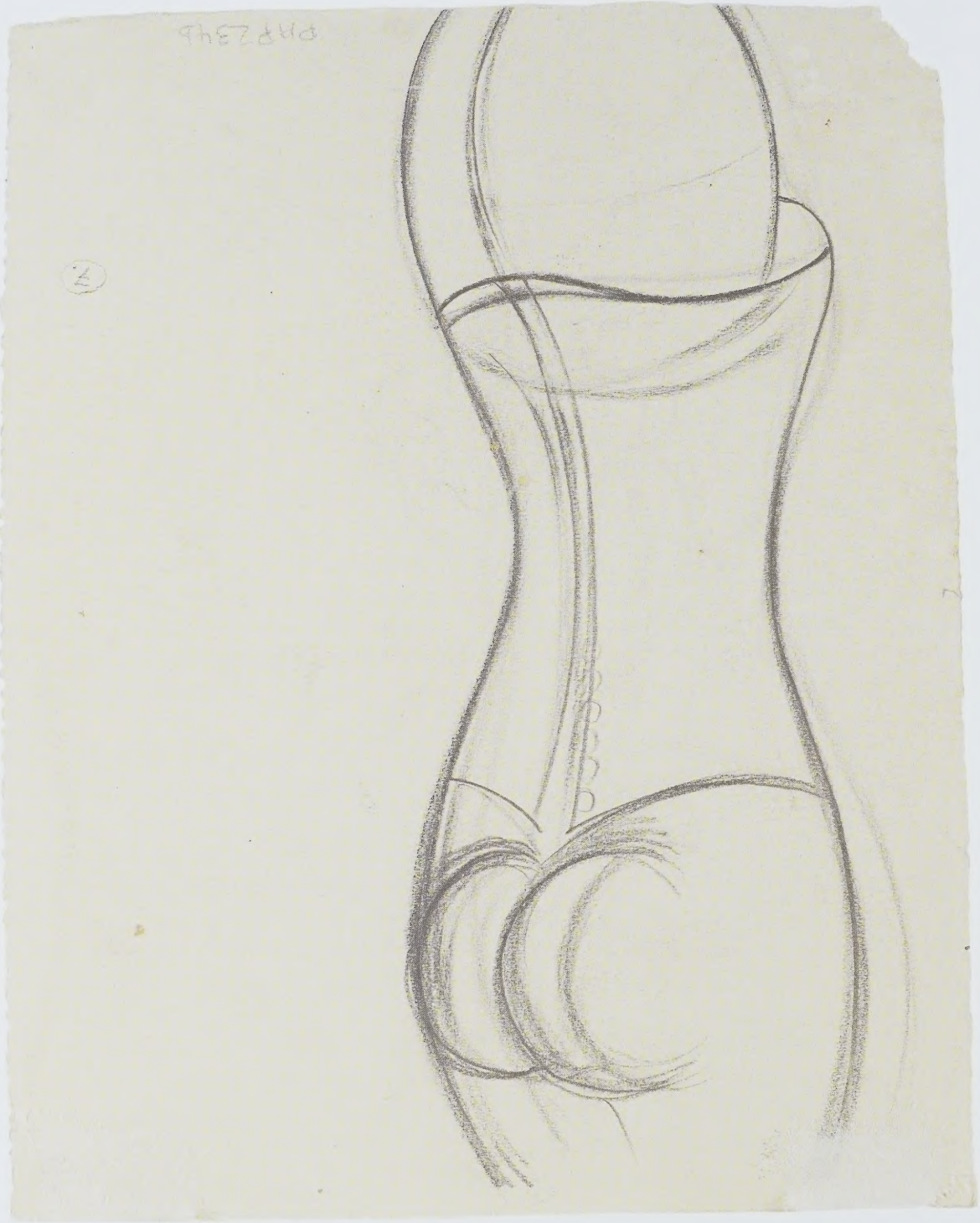
The overlap of the readings of Schiller and worker tariffs was deliberate. At the beginning of the 20th century, German schoolchildren memorized the opening of Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke* (The Song of the Bell) as a paean to labour. To Stupid, this performance would have represented the fusion of everyday life with the arts. Angelika's *Hotelboy und Mann II* (Hotel Boy and Man II) [see cat. 17] illustrates a confrontation between a dumb-looking hotel employee and an equally dense-looking man in middle-class garb. Her work alludes to the fracas in Aachen where the bourgeoisie had once again failed to understand that culture was not their exclusive domain, but was also meant for the masses.

Another side of Stupid surfaced at the end of 1921. The newspaper article "An Alle Künstler und Intellektuelle" (To all Artists and Intellectuals) was a plea to aid the twenty million starving in Russia. After revealing that thousands of people in the country were reduced to eating grass and that children were collapsing by the Volga River, the article asked: "Can the heart and intellect that wishes to create new worlds shut itself against the suffering of those in Russia?"[17] Käthe Kollwitz headed the German Artists' Committee for the Starving in Russia while Angelika became heavily involved in the Cologne subcommittee.

The Decline

In spite of the actions of Angelika and the Stupids, the old guard held firm. The new Cologne Art Association opened in 1922 with the announcement that Franz von Stuck's *Amazone* (Amazon) would be installed at its entrance. Meanwhile, Angelika experienced further bouts of tuberculosis, which increased the distance between her and Heinrich [fig. 15]. In the midst of this troubled time, Brockmann discussed Hans Prinzhorn's *Bildnerei der Geisteskranken* (Artistry of the Mentally Ill) with the Hoerles. The three viewed these illustrations as windows into the unconscious mind, a subject that had taken on renewed interest after poet Paul Éluard and his wife Gala visited Luise and Max Ernst in Cologne in November 1921, following a trip to Vienna where they met Sigmund Freud. Meanwhile, Angelika's evolution towards a proto-surrealistic style began to manifest itself during the winter of 1921–22.

The Éluards' visit to Cologne brought to light one more element that contributed to the imagery in Angelika's final drawings – spousal betrayal. Luise Ernst recounted that the birth of their son Jimmy in June 1920 had created distance between her and Max.[18] The gap that she described was filled in the winter of 1921 by Gala Éluard. It took only a few months for Gala – who Luise described as "slithering," "glittering" and "avaricious" – to have Paul and Max in a ménage à trois. Max ultimately abandoned Luise and Jimmy in 1922, moving to Paris to be with the Éluards.



pl. 19 Angelika Hoerle, **Figur mit Korsett** (Study of Woman in Corset), 1921 (cat. 21.1)

The Independent Angelika

The exact date when Heinrich left Angelika is unknown, as his departure was not solely in response to her tuberculosis. He had begun to resent Angelika's independence, political commitment and success as early as 1920. The allure of "the new woman" – politically and intellectually engaged, bob-haired and increasingly self-sufficient – quickly wore thin.

In an unpublished manuscript written after Angelika's death, Marta Hegemann commented: "Like a shadow, a painter walked beside her...he walked with Angelika, that angel, not like a man but rather like some odd kind of evil principle covered by clothing."[19] The glowering principle that shadowed Angelika was her husband's jealousy. Yet Marta was not alone in seeing Heinrich as a dark force. Willy agreed with this observation. Heinrich came to see Angelika more as a competitor than a wife. His disdain for women like Angelika and Marta Hegemann would manifest itself in works such as *Artistin* (Artist) [fig. 12], where he turns female artists into dumbbell-wielding viragos.

Whereas the bloom had faded from the Ernst marriage following the birth of their first child, Angelika's growing popularity contributed to her deteriorating marriage. In Marta Hegemann's case it was both factors. Although Anton Räderscheidt did not physically leave for years, he had long since abandoned Marta in spirit. The issues of abandonment and the rise of the new woman progressively emerged in Angelika's imagery. She had ceased work on her *ABC Bilderbuch* (ABC Picture Book) to focus on women's issues. The self-possessed subjects in *Zwei Frauenköpfe im Profil* (Two Women's Heads in Profile) [see cat. 19] depict the confidence of the new woman. In contrast, the puzzled woman wearing a lampshade with a pull chain in *Doppelkopf* (Woman's Head with Lamp) [see cat. 26] demonstrates the need for women to "turn on the light" to see what is going on around them.



fig. 12 Heinrich Hoerle, **Artistin** (Artist)

Angelika took the issue of self-awareness one step further with her recurring image of an



pl. 20 Angelika Hoerle, **Stilleben mit Büste und Bild** (Still Life with Bust), 1922 (cat. 34)

elongated one-eyed figure reminiscent of a Cyclops. In *Köpfe mit Brüste* (Woman with Three Breasts) [see cat. 27], the Cyclops exudes a lack of awareness, blocking a woman with three breasts. As in *Rider*, the three-breasted figure is weighed down by her femininity. In classical literature featuring Polyphemus the Cyclops, Ulysses tricks the giant by telling him that his name is "Nobody." After Ulysses blinds Polyphemus, the Cyclops screams repeatedly to his friends: "Nobody. Nobody has done this!" Angelika's Cyclops speaks to the fact that a lack of awareness was impeding the progress of many women because they failed to understand what was blinding them.

In *Stilleben mit Büste und Bild* (Still Life with Bust) [see cat. 34], Angelika tackles the subject of the blinding "Nobody." The two sinuous, shaded forms in the work echo the tailor's dummies in Ernst's *Fiat Modes*. They are seen in an empty room with an empty picture frame behind them – a stark, hopeless interior. Angelika's busts on a spring look as if they could be made to bobble in any direction with the slightest touch. The viewer is left to wonder why these helpless yet highly differentiated female forms are abandoned in the void, subject to any whim.

Angelika's imagery here articulates the difficulties that German females faced in post-World War I society. More than 60% of German women had contributed to the war effort, yet after the armistice, "millions of women, recruited into the factories during wartime, were now curtly told to make room for the men returning from the front."[20] Although women were now enfranchised, they were still handicapped by society's refusal to offer them comparable rights as men, which made it difficult for them to effect change in their own lives. Angelika resolved to use her art to help women overcome this Cyclopean blindness.

Self-Awareness

Nierendorf sold Katherine Dreier three of Angelika's works in 1922 for 8,000 RM (Reichsmark). The rate of inflation in Germany increased so rapidly that year that the once handsome sum lost much of its value as the months passed. However, as Angelika remained in her apartment, with Willy's economic support, the sale of these works must have provided a psychological boost as well a measure of self-sufficiency.

In *Baum und Mauer* (Tree and Wall) [see cat. 35], one of the works purchased by Dreier, Angelika further explores the theme of abandonment. The shoe is unable to take the weighted-down female form outside. Angelika's body was abandoning her at that time, and there was no longer an outside world for her, merely a void beyond an open door. Every detail of the figure is shadowed, as Angelika tapped deep into her psyche to express the conditions of women like herself in post-WWI Germany. The messages implied in the work were to break free from the constraints weighing down women, to look within oneself and to become more self-aware.

The imagery is even more sombre in *Z206*, also known as *Kopf mit Rad und Autohupe* (Head with Sign, Hand, Wheel and Auto Horn) [see cat. 36]. There are no eyes on the head rolling away from



pl. 21 Angelika Hoerle, **Baum und Mauer** (Tree and Wall), 1922 (cat. 35)



pl. 22 Angelika Hoerle, **Abstrahierter Kopf** (Female Head), 1922 (cat. 37)



fig. 13 Gottfried Brockmann, **Ohne Titel** (Untitled), 1923

the creeping hand of death, while the horn is set to signal the death of yet another faceless female, number Z206. The Oedipus story provides a clue to the sightless woman. Oedipus blinded himself as he gained insight into his futile actions to evade a fate that he brought upon himself. Oedipus claimed he did this because it was when he had eyes that he could not see. As Angelika references this tragedy, she encourages women to develop a deeper insight into their own condition.

Angelika probably created *Abstrahierter Kopf* (Female Head) [see cat. 37] shortly before her death. The drawing depicts a head without a body, a pure oval broken by three strands of runaway hair. The half-shaded head could be seen as a large head with another head inside. A straight line comes from behind the head and cuts across it, echoes of a hat or the side of a coffin. The density of meaning in such a simple work illustrates how much Angelika had refined and simplified her work at the end of her life.

Conclusion

Angelika's final year was filled with insight as she came to appreciate the true nature of friendship, meeting with friends whenever her health allowed. After social gatherings, Angelika would make the long journey home to Lindenthal alone, playing her harmonica as she walked to stave off the loneliness of the empty midnight streets of Cologne.[21] Two paintings from 1923 tell us that Angelika was in the thoughts of Gottfried Brockmann and Jankel Adler; the latter had most likely met her at the Kongress Internationaler Fortschrittlicher Künstler (Congress of International Progressive Artists) in Düsseldorf in 1922 where they both had works on exhibit.

Brockmann portrayed a woman watching a man leave through a distant doorway [fig. 13]. In Adler's evocative portrait (collection of the Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal), Angelika fills the right-hand side of the picture. A group of people can be seen in the far distance, most likely a reference to those who abandoned Angelika as a result of her tuberculosis. Two cats symbolize independence, with one springing out of the mirror from another world. The partially covered mirror alludes to a shiva, a Jewish ritual honouring the dead. The Hebrew word "Sabbat" appears at the top of the portrait in reference to the day of rest, foreshadowing Angelika's eternal rest.

As the summer days of 1923 cooled and there was no longer money to heat the apartment, Willy pleaded with his sister to return home. She was wracked with coughing but too proud to go back to her parents. She continued to work on her finely honed art through which she still sought to create awareness in women. By September Willy could no longer stand by as Angelika, too weak to care for herself, wasted away in the cold apartment. In a scene he continued to describe with sorrow more than forty years after her death, he wrapped the frail Angelika in a blanket and carried her the great distance from the Lindenthal suburb to their parents' home in Cologne. Angelika was readily embraced by her parents, but she was beyond earthly love and died on September 9, 1923.

Family records show that Willy paid 34,560,000 RM to bury his sister. Inflation was at its highest when Angelika's landlord contacted Willy to say that the contents of her apartment would be sold to pay for back rent. In spite of what he had just paid for the funeral, Willy went to Lindenthal and paid the exorbitant back rent so that he could collect the items that were to become the Fick-Eggert Collection.

Initially focused on revolutionizing art institutions and developing a people's art, Angelika's work became more introspective as her personal situation, and that of women in general, changed. Her determination to change the world lifted her from the depths of despair. Fighting a terminal disease, she devoted her last works towards the empowerment of women. Although her oeuvre is limited, Angelika Hoerle's trajectory through the Cologne art scene remains significant and offers insight into art, society and the human heart.

1 Sculptor Milly Steger worked in Hagen between 1911–1916 at the invitation of Karl Ernst Osthaus. She sculpted reliefs of dancers for Henry van de Velde's theatre for the *Werkbund* exhibition.

2 Otto Freundlich's atelier was next to Picasso's in Paris in 1908. As a result, he also met Braque and Apollinaire. He created the sculpture *Der neue Mensch* (The New Man) in 1911, which was featured on the cover of Munich's *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition in 1937.

3 The actor Ret Marut published the anti-war periodical *Der Zieglebrenner* with Irene Mermet from 1917 to 1921 in Munich and Simonskall. In 1923 Marut fled to Mexico, where under the pseudonym Bert Traven he wrote *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre* (The Treasure of the Sierra Madre) in 1927.

4 Marta Hegemann, "Marta Hegemann – Erinnerungen," in *Marta Hegemann: Leben und Werk*, ed. Michael Euler-Schmidt (Cologne: Stadtmuseum, 1990), p. 76.

5 Freikorps were paramilitary units comprised of zealous World War I soldiers.

6 Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 254.

7 Initially a member of Cologne's Workers' and Soldiers' Council, Paul Runge returned to his SPD roots after the Revolution failed.

8 "Ausstellung für das werktätige Volk" in *Rheinische Zeitung* (9 December 1919). Reproduced in *Max Ernst in Köln* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), p. 46.

9 *Schammade*, which could stem from *scham* (shame), has no English equivalent.

10 "Im Kölner Dadaistenheim: Schloemilch Verlag, Köln-Lindenthal" in *Rheinische Zeitung* (19 February 1920). Reproduced in *Max Ernst in Köln* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), p. 34.

11 Franz W. Seiwert, "Das Loch in Rubens Schinken," in *Die Aktion* 10 (1920). Reproduced in *Franz W. Seiwert Schriften* (Cologne: Karin Kramer, 1978), p. 16.

12 Walter Rheiner, "Austellung der Gruppe 'Stupid,' Hildeboldplatz 9," in unknown newspaper (1 June 1920). Cited in *Willy Fick* (Cologne: Wienand, 1986), p. 45.

13 Franz W. Seiwert, "An Pol Michels," in *Franz W. Seiwert Schriften* (Cologne: Karin Kramer, 1978), p. 79.

14 Franz W. Seiwert, "Offener Brief an den Genossen A. Bogdanow!" in *Die Aktion* 11 (1921). Cited in *Franz W. Seiwert Schriften* (Cologne: Karin Kramer, 1978), p. 23.

15 Gottfried Brockmann, "Angelika Hoerle," in *Heinrich Hoerle* (Cologne: Rheinland, 1981), p. 293.

16 Photocopy of a handwritten note. The whereabouts of the original are unknown.

17 "An Alle Künstler und Intellektuelle" in *Sozialistische Republik* (31 December 1921). Reproduced in *Heinrich Hoerle* (Cologne: Rheinland, 1981), p. 296.

18 Jimmy Ernst, *A Not So Still Life* (New York: St Martin's/Marek, 1984), p. 18.

19 Marta Hegemann's son Johannes Räderscheidt provided a photocopy of Marta's unpublished manuscript in 2007.

20 Eric Weitz, *Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 21.

21 The author in conversation with Johannes Räderscheidt in July 2007.

pl. 23 Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Wallpaper Sample, 1919 (cat. 1.3)

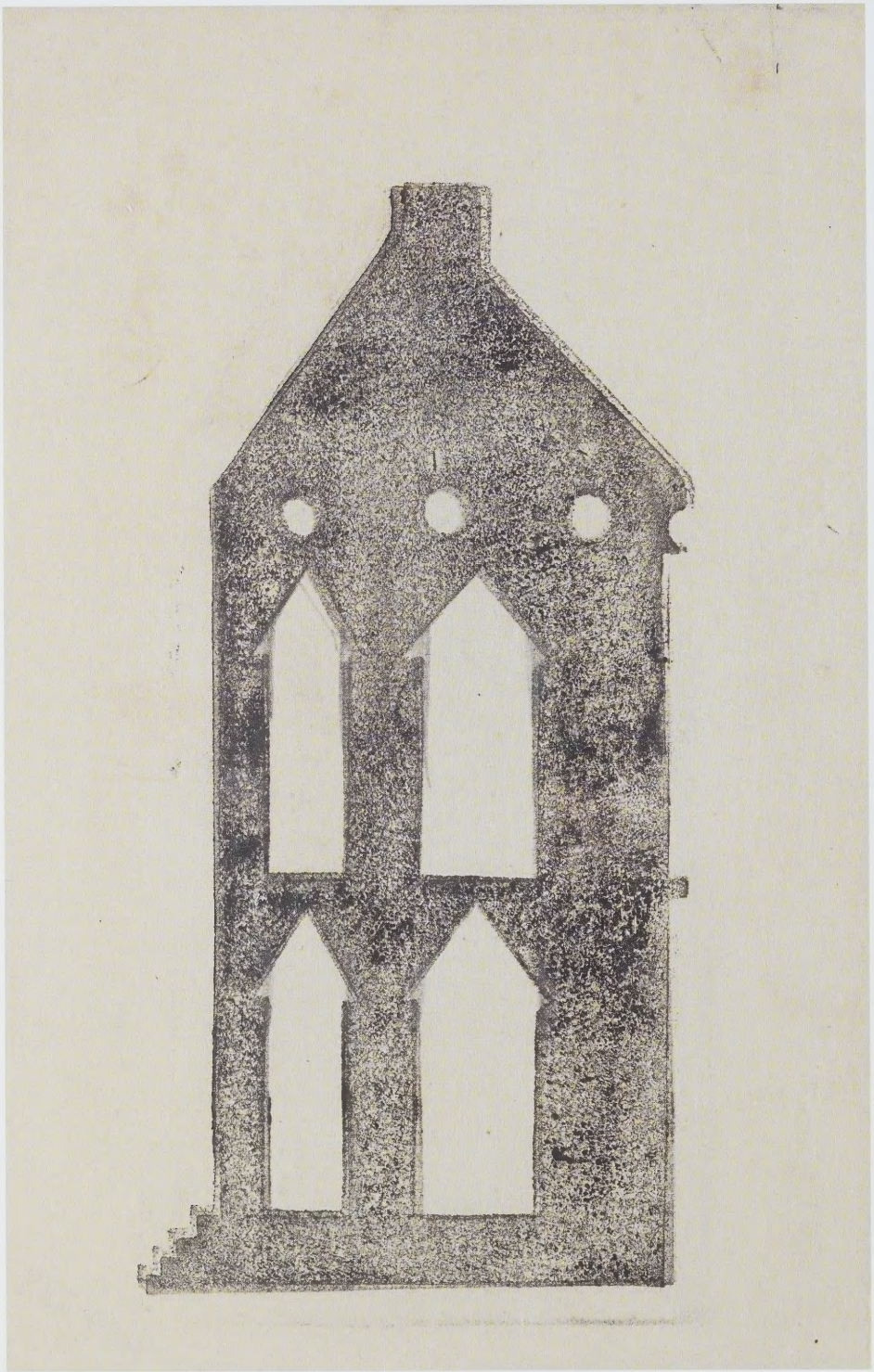




pl. 24 Angelika Hoerle, **Fisch** (Fish), 1920 (cat. 12.1)



pl. 25 Angelika Hoerle, lino block for **Fisch** (Fish), 1920 (cat. 12.2)



pl. 26 Angelika Hoerle, **Haus** (House), 1920 (cat. 12.3)



pl. 27 Angelika Hoerle, lino block for **Haus** (House), 1920 (cat. 12.4)



pl. 28 Angelika Hoerle, **Lampe** (Lamp), 1920 (cat. 12.5)



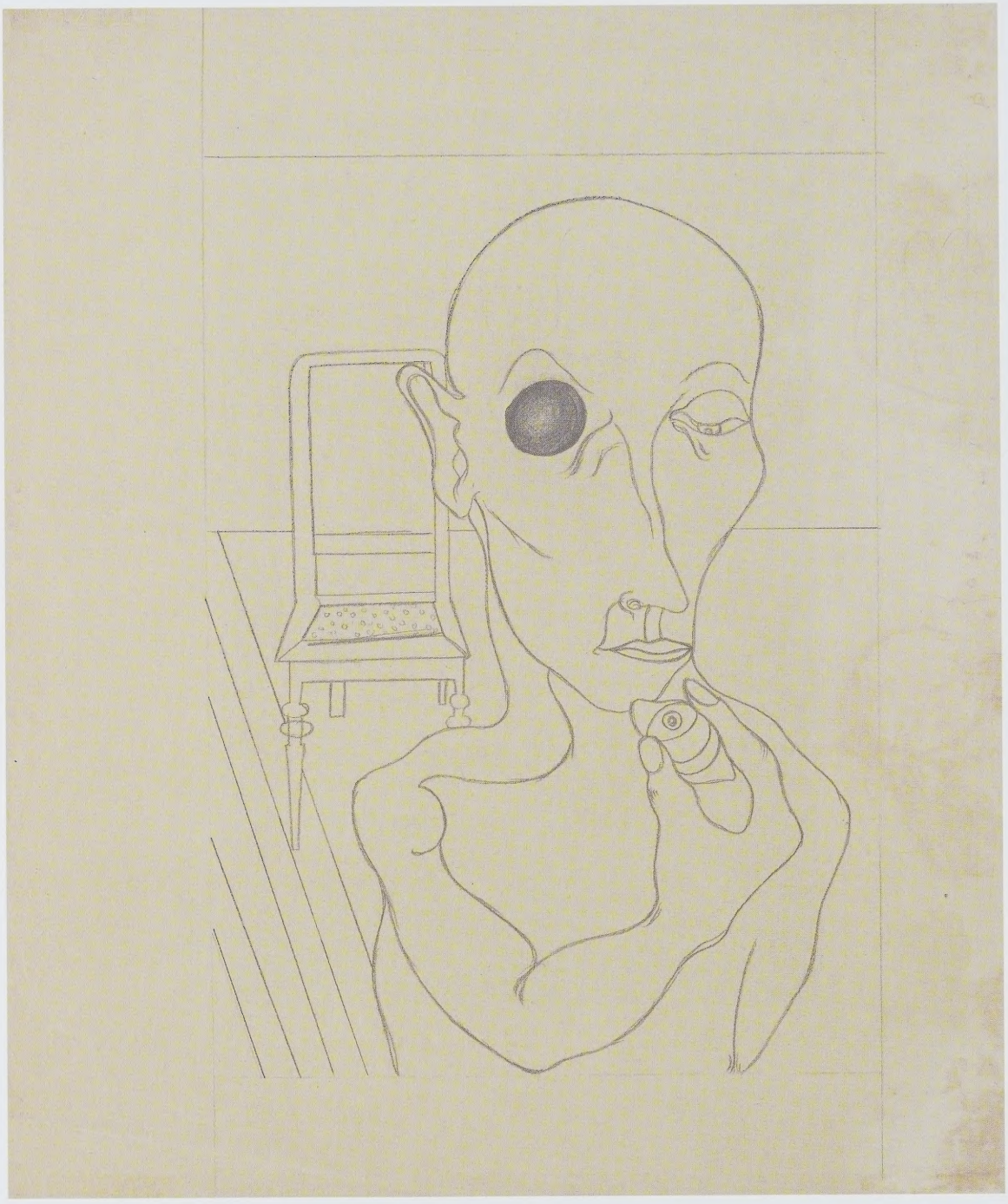
pl. 29 Angelika Hoerle, lino block for **Lampe** (Lamp), 1920 (cat. 12.6)



pl. 30 Angelika Hoerle, **Vogel** (Bird), 1920 (cat. 12.7)



pl. 31 Angelika Hoerle, lino block for **Vogel** (Bird), 1920 (cat. 12.8)



pl. 32 Angelika Hoerle, **Mann mit Auge entfernt** (Man with Eye Removed), 1921 (cat. 23)

Angelika Hoerle Drawing

Sabine T. Kriebel

This essay considers Angelika Hoerle's preferred medium: drawing.[1] From her mischievously acerbic illustrations in the Cologne Dada publications *Bulletin D* and *die schammade* to the melancholic, introspective self-portraits produced from her deathbed, Angelika's work consistently engaged the medium of drawing, from probing graphite sketches to more formal, finished ink-on-paper works. Alternately tentative and bold, exploratory and determinedly precise, Angelika's drawings narrate the preoccupations of a young woman coming to terms with tremendous psychological transitions, from the broad political and social upheavals of the immediate postwar period to the private, tragic experience of her own body succumbing to fatal disease. These drawings are in part self-investigations, explorations of individual identity that interrogate and validate an "I" in evolution, while simultaneously addressing the concerns of an era by questioning authority and gender roles in addition to physical infirmity, psychological trauma and loss. Yet as this essay will argue, Angelika's medium is not merely secondary to her explorations of social and personal change, but rather essential to the terms of their articulation.

Traditionally considered subservient to painting – that is, a preliminary sketch or preparatory stage of a properly "finished" work – drawing for the twentieth-century avant-gardes increasingly became a medium of liberation, one that eschewed the deliberation, premeditation and durability of traditional art practice in favor of spontaneity, transience, process and immediacy. Indeed drawing – not unlike assemblage, collage and montage – was privileged by Dadaists and Surrealists for these very reasons, while Expressionism and various primitivisms went so far as to equate drawing with archetypal, essential and direct expression.

Angelika Hoerle drawing. This sentence, and my title, carry a double meaning: drawing as a noun and drawing as a verb. On the one hand, drawing is a thing, a sheet of paper with graphite marks that we hold in our hand, or frame and hang on the wall. On the other hand, drawing is a practice, a process of linear articulation, enunciating thought and delineating motion during the course of its becoming a tangible mark on the page. A different temporality is involved, it is worth noting, in the noun and the verb – the thing that exists in time and the idea that unfolds as it is being enacted and investigated. This doubleness – drawing as a noun and drawing as a verb, drawing as a thing and drawing as in-the-process-of-becoming – is, as we shall see, integral to Angelika's conception of line. Line is skin, the contours of a hat, a lamp, a bench – that is, a noun, correlative with matter in the world. Line is also a form of exploring, a process, a verb naming and declaring space, matter, identity, at the same time that it interrogates that very process. What Angelika interrogates, I will argue, is Angelika Hoerle herself, through a series of metaphorical self-portraits that assert at the same time that they call into question. Angelika's drawing, as we shall see, offers not only a doubleness of intention – noun, verb – but also duplicity, deception and trickery, as the descriptive, contouring line metamorphoses into hidden, enigmatic signs, revealing themselves briefly to the eye before resuming, incompletely, their role as mere decoration, insignificant doodle, accident.

Indeed, Angelika Hoerle's works investigate the possibilities of the drawn line – drawing as exploration, drawing as declaration, drawing as association, drawing as boundary, drawing as enigma, drawing as a form of writing, and drawing as journal, to name a few of her modes. Her work is by turns Dadaist, expressionist, constructivist and proto-surrealist, her free-associative line drawings anticipating by a few years the *écriture automatique* (automatic writing) privileged by the Surrealists. Rather than providing a generalized account of her technique, this essay is a focused investigation of particular works that problematize the relation between the line and the mind, demarcating their embodied psychosocial terrain as they investigate it, while blurring the boundary between sketch and finished work, process-in-progress and completion.

What subjects draw Angelika Hoerle? Not dysfunctional Dada machines, but impossible bodies, such as Cycloptic heads, females with breasts in triplicate, extraordinarily flexible acrobats. Her mode is often the portrait. Her subjects are often imagined, not immediately referential. Yet they are also introspective, concentrated on a world within while describing a psychological experience wrought by the world without. Her most well-known Dada works depict a male psyche in the face of postwar mutilation. *Mann mit Auge entfernt* (Man with Eye Removed) represents physical loss as a process of psychic detachment [see cat. 23]. A man solemnly views his prosthetic eye, holding the foreign object with his one complete arm as the other hangs, amputated and inert, by his side. The artificial eye is a thing that is not-the-self, as materially separate as the chair behind him, *for* the body but not *of* the body. The body



pl. 33 Angelika Hoerle, **Weibliches Halbporträt** (Female Bust), 1920 (cat. 9)

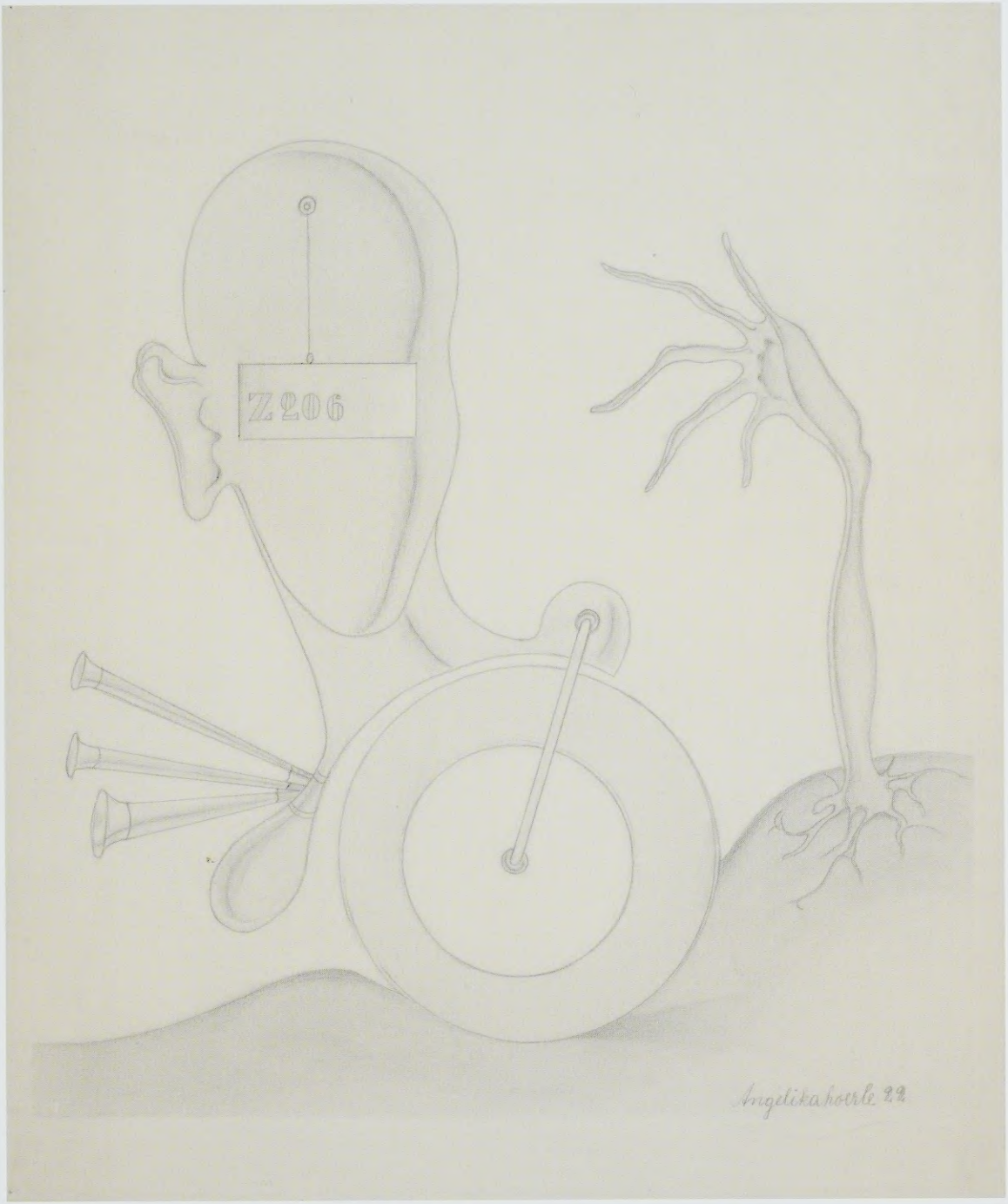
itself confronts the picture's viewer with what is meant through the conventions of picturing to be a black absence, a shocking hole, but which is in fact produced by its very opposite, an insistent presence of matter, a densely worked graphite surface, a disturbing counterpoint to the drawing's spare linearity and dispassionate reserve.

More abundant in its pictorial means and fantasy is *Z206*, also known as *Kopf mit Rad und Autohupe* (Head with Sign, Hand, Wheel and Auto Horn), a 1922 portrait of a faceless head and neck propelled by a wheel or drum, while a bagpipe, doubling as a phallic form, seems to enable speech [see cat. 36]. Its symbology, as I have argued elsewhere, is linked to the British occupation of Cologne, while the motif of a waving, disembodied hand that mocks the incomplete body borrows from her husband Heinrich Hoerle's 1919–1920 portfolio of lithographs entitled *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio) [fig. 14]. While Heinrich Hoerle's sinuous, repetitive line imparts a psychological intensity, Angelika Hoerle's singular continuous line (in some passages echoed by a second line for depth) provides a bracing clarity in *Z206*, its austere vision of alienation both rationally matter-of-fact and cruelly absurd.[2] She lends this abstract body a surface, a skin, a solidity that is a shade lighter than the grassy slope along which it rolls, in contrast to *Man with Eye Removed*. The lower right corner of the work also bears a signature, the artist's full name linked in a carefully rendered, unbroken line as if to prevent a breath of space from interrupting the picture's visual continuity, suggesting its conception as a finished work.



fig. 14 Heinrich Hoerle, **Ohne Titel (Mann mit Fisch)** [Untitled (Man with Fish)] from **Krüppelmappe**, 1919

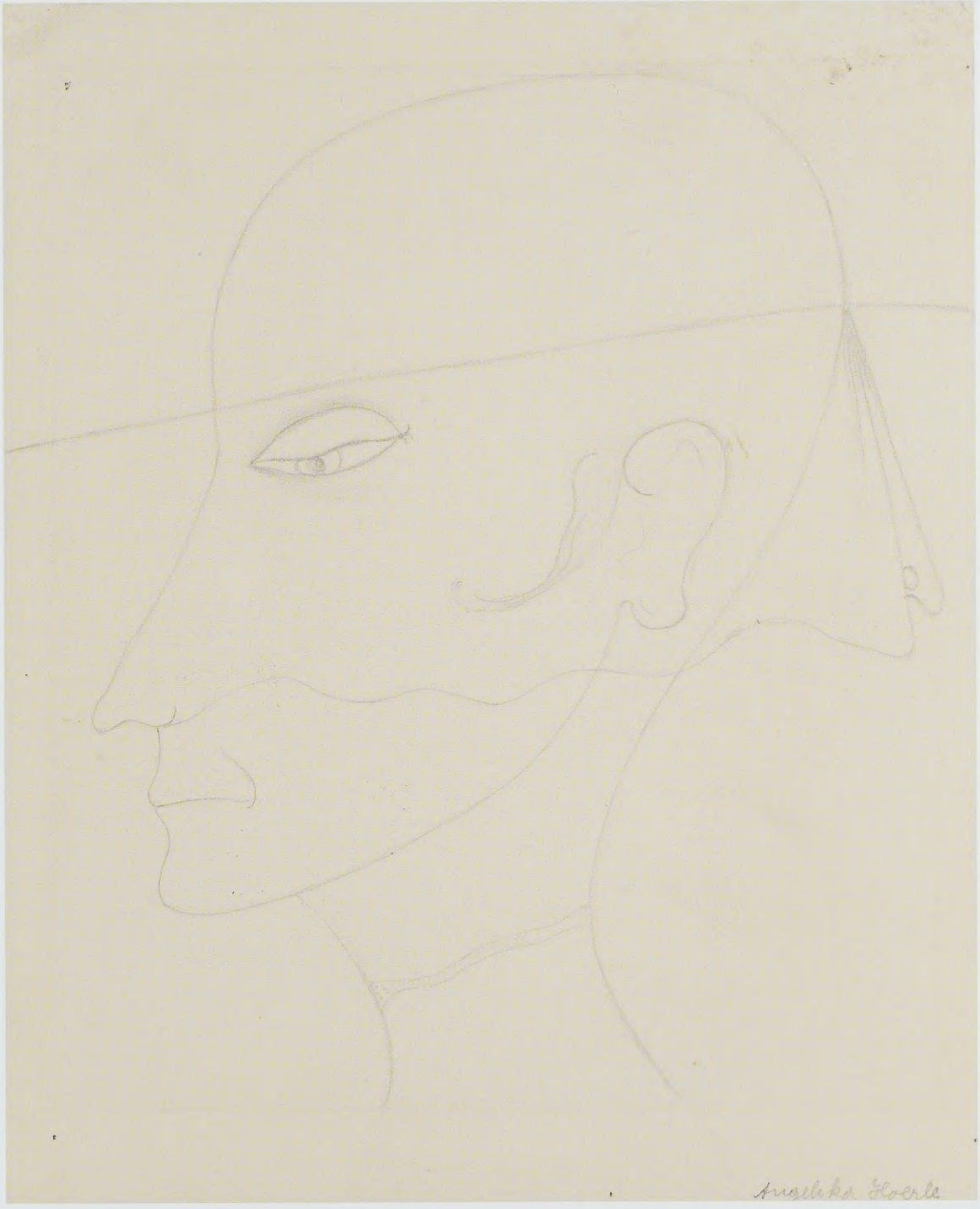
The progressive art collector, patron and Société Anonyme co-founder Katherine Dreier purchased *Z206*, drawn perhaps to its combination of imaginative form, psychological content and startling contemporaneity.[3] Angelika Hoerle's work so impressed Dreier that she famously likened the artist to a comet on the Cologne scene.[4] A dedicated women's rights activist, Dreier purchased three of Angelika's Hoerle drawings in all, including *Weibliches Halbporträt* (Female Bust), an abstract-decorative work from 1920 [see cat. 9]. At first glance, this ink-on-paper drawing looks to be a celebration of early art-deco feminine ornament in stylized abstract forms, rendered harmonically balanced yet visually dissonant in alternating rhythms of black and white. An elegant skullcap adorns half of her head and an elaborate swirling form rises up behind her – either a scarf billowing freely in the wind, a glamorous boa, or perhaps a fantastical wing – while



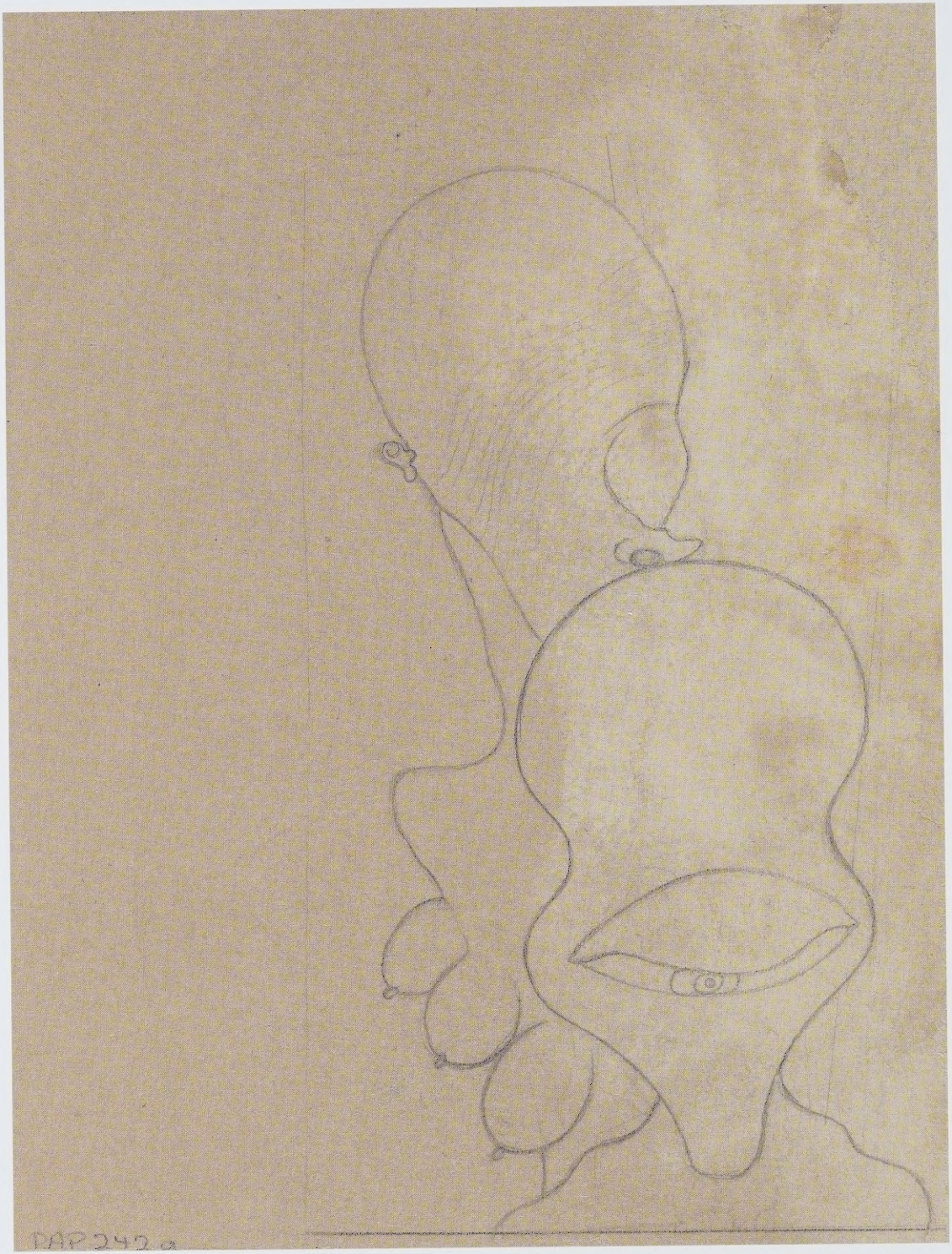
pl. 34 Angelika Hoerle, **Z206**, also known as **Kopf mit Rad und Autohupe** (Head with Sign, Hand, Wheel and Auto Horn), 1922 (cat. 36)



pl. 35 Angelika Hoerle, **Zwei Frauenköpfe im Profil** (Two Women's Heads in Profile), 1921 (cat. 19)



pl. 36 Angelika Hoerle, **Kopf** (Veiled Woman), 1921 (cat. 24)



pl. 37 Angelika Hoerle, **Köpfe mit Brüste** (Woman with Three Breasts), 1922 (cat. 27)

a second serpentine shape, embellished with open circles, slides along the elegant line of her neck and behind her head, twisting elegantly on the other side.

Like *Z206*, this whimsical form fuses abstraction and figuration – the simplicity of pictorial language with fantasy. *Female Bust* is also signed, suggesting that Angelika considered it a finished work, though each unit of name and date stand on their own, keeping with convention and maintaining the staccato pictorial rhythm of black and white, absence and presence. While the schematic rendition of the face punctuated by a single staring eye – its round form echoed by the singular, yet split, breast below – might suggest a highly stylized emphasis on the surface, this ocular singularity paradoxically allows for an interior subjectivity to take hold. Rather than a conventional female form that is all decorative outwardness and grace, we are offered absence and enigma, asserting inwardness and subjective presence at the same time.

The subject matter of *Female Bust* relates to the bulk of Angelika's oeuvre, namely a series of investigations into the performance and subjectivity of femininity. This repetition of theme points to a form of systematic investigation, an insistent inquiry into representations of female identity and selfhood during a period of social transformation. Her line declares while it interrogates, enacting the contemplation that she portrays. For instance, *Zwei Frauenköpfe im Profil* (Two Women's Heads in Profile) from 1921 depicts modern women – the so-called New Woman – with cropped hair, long necks and modest adornment [see cat. 19]. The economy of means – a single, precisely rendered line that delimits their contours – imparts a certain fastidiousness and determination of character to the figures and a purposeful clarity to Angelika's process. Importantly, these New Women do not appeal to the viewer through frontality or an alluring gaze; rather we are witness to the inwardness of these profiles, absorbed in their own worlds, as Angelika would have been in her careful picturing. However, their pairing suggests unity, camaraderie and strength as opposed to individual isolation.

Similarly conceived in form if not in content is a drawing posthumously titled *Kopf* (Veiled Woman), depicting a woman with heavy-lidded eye in profile, a singular lock of hair by her ear, wearing a simple choker and hat with a transparent veil [see cat. 24]. In contrast to the two women in profile – whose countenances seem to be in thoughtful but relaxed absorption with eyes focused and lips firmly set but full – this representation emphasizes tension, both in the linear parenthesis that abuts her compressed mouth and the intensely worked eye, which registers the added pressure of hand on pencil, thus becoming the visual centre of the work. An emotional context is implied here, perhaps mourning, as the veil suggests. We are offered a picture of solitude and isolated subjectivity, emphasized by the hat, brim and veil, which is meant to separate the face from the viewer. That the veil becomes one with her profile makes its unity with her countenance all the more stark.

Determined, psychologically weighted profiles may also adopt non-human form in Angelika



pl. 38 Angelika Hoerle, **Reiterin** (Rider), reproduced as cat. 19 in *Bulletin D*, November 1919 (cat. 6)

Hoerle's work, as suggested by *Geteilter Tierkopf* (Dog with Hat), the unsigned drawing posthumously dated 1922 of an animal resembling a greyhound in an ornamental hat [see cat. 29]. The animal functions as a cipher for human emotion while its affect approximates the resolve of the previous figures, an alter ego of sorts. In *Köpfe mit Brüste* (Woman with Three Breasts) [see cat. 27], a bald, heavy-lidded profile belongs to a fantastical figure with three breasts, an allusion perhaps to the Roman goddess Diana of Ephesus, Mother of All. Her pictorial function is certainly tender and protective; she presses her nose, as if to comfort, against the scalp of a melancholic Cyclops, whose large eye looks down and inward. It stands in stark contrast to the 1919 incarnation of the three-breasted figure in her Dada work *Reiterin* (Rider) [see cat. 6], which depicts a confident Diana the Huntress, the irreverent, sketchy line playfully mimicking the cubist idiom. In Angelika's later works, line becomes a study of inside and outside, interiority and exteriority. The realm inside the line translates as the psychic space of subjective interiority while the area outside the line is variously the world, matter and other human beings. Her repetition of hats (she trained in millinery before becoming an artist) emphasizes that rhetoric of inside/outside. Hats are a form of enclosure, a space of interiority and protection for the head, the mind, the locus of subjectivity and consciousness, providing a formal elegant structure of boundary from the outside world.

While Angelika's drawings function as pictorial responses to the shifting terrain of the postwar psyche, they also operate from a position of private experience, suggesting her own inner conflict and psychological buttressing. Heinrich's infidelity was placing an increasing strain on their marriage, a union which had already estranged Angelika from her parents, incurring her father's condemnation and withdrawal of financial support.[5] In 1922 she contracted tuberculosis, a contagious airborne infection of the lung wrought by a bacterium. Her husband, frightened of the disease that killed his father five years earlier, abandoned Angelika, leaving her to cope with the illness alone. Her brother, Willy Fick, and her friends, Anton Räderscheidt and Marta Hegemann, were her only visitors.[6] Angelika's works read as alter egos, pictorial signs of tension and affirmation shoring up



pl. 39 Angelika Hoerle, **Geteilter Tierkopf** (Dog with Hat), 1922 (cat. 29)

her own identity as she materializes these ciphers of thought, strength and resolve, again and again. We imagine that the works are drawn with the same kind of introspection and determination that they represent, externalizing the processes of thought in line.

In the 1922 portrait *Doppelkopf* (Woman's Head with Lamp), line is as duplicitous as it is candid, producing tension between two countenances [see cat. 26]. A frontal Cycloptic female face fuses with the profile of a man, creating psychological tension of unknown origin. However, a third face can be discerned in the boundary delineating female from male, simultaneously obscured and defined by the descriptive locks of hair along their common border. The face resembles the chubby profile of an infant, its nose and mouth pressed against the woman's cheek while it shares an eye with the man. Angelika's carefully rendered line is not merely descriptive, naming contours and form, it is also deceptive, doubling back on itself to intimate a latent form. Look again at the hat on the greyhound, the S-shaped flourishes at the back of the head in particular [see cat. 29]. The topmost arabesques function independently as decorative detail, a form that Paul Klee would characterize in 1923 as "an active line on a walk, moving freely, without goal. A walk for walk's sake."[7] Those lines closer to the brim of the hat intersect and coalesce to form a plucky body in profile, defined (moving from left to right) by a bulbous hat, a circular eye, a cheek, a protuberant belly and a monopod that converges with the lowest flourish of the hat, all appearing to face in a direction opposite the dog, thus producing a visual tension of refusal and resistance. Four loose parallel lines form the back base of the hidden hat, a strategy that repeats the duplicitous pictorial tactics that define the large hat's posterior.

To cite another instance, in *Veiled Woman* [see cat. 24], what function does the oddly placed loop serve in the veil's hind fold? Is it a pictorial counterweight in an otherwise simplified and carefully rendered drawing? It bears striking but inexplicable resemblance to the noses in Angelika's drawings. Are we to intuit a face hidden in the fabric? In her work, the oft-maligned decorative (traditionally associated with frivolity, superfluity, superficiality rather than femininity) is not merely visual pleasure but optical pun, revelling in latent meaning. Though Angelika Hoerle's familiarity with Sigmund Freud's writings on the unconscious remains undocumented, she probably encountered Freudian theory through her one-time Dadaist co-conspirator Max Ernst. Having studied Freud's *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* and *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1913 while in university, Ernst mobilized Freudian ideas in his art during his involvement with Cologne Dada and later Surrealism.[8]

In two drawings posthumously dated 1921, Angelika's transformative line adopts an overtly associative quality. She utilizes a language that is more classically Freudian in its condensation and displacement of symbolic forms, though her usually firm hand gives way to a delicate treatment in which the graphite seems to touch the surface almost gingerly. In *Frauenkopf* (Woman with Hat), hats and props take on animate forms, alter egos to the gaunt woman in profile



pl. 40 Angelika Hoerle, **Doppelkopf** (Woman's Head with Lamp), 1922 (cat. 26)

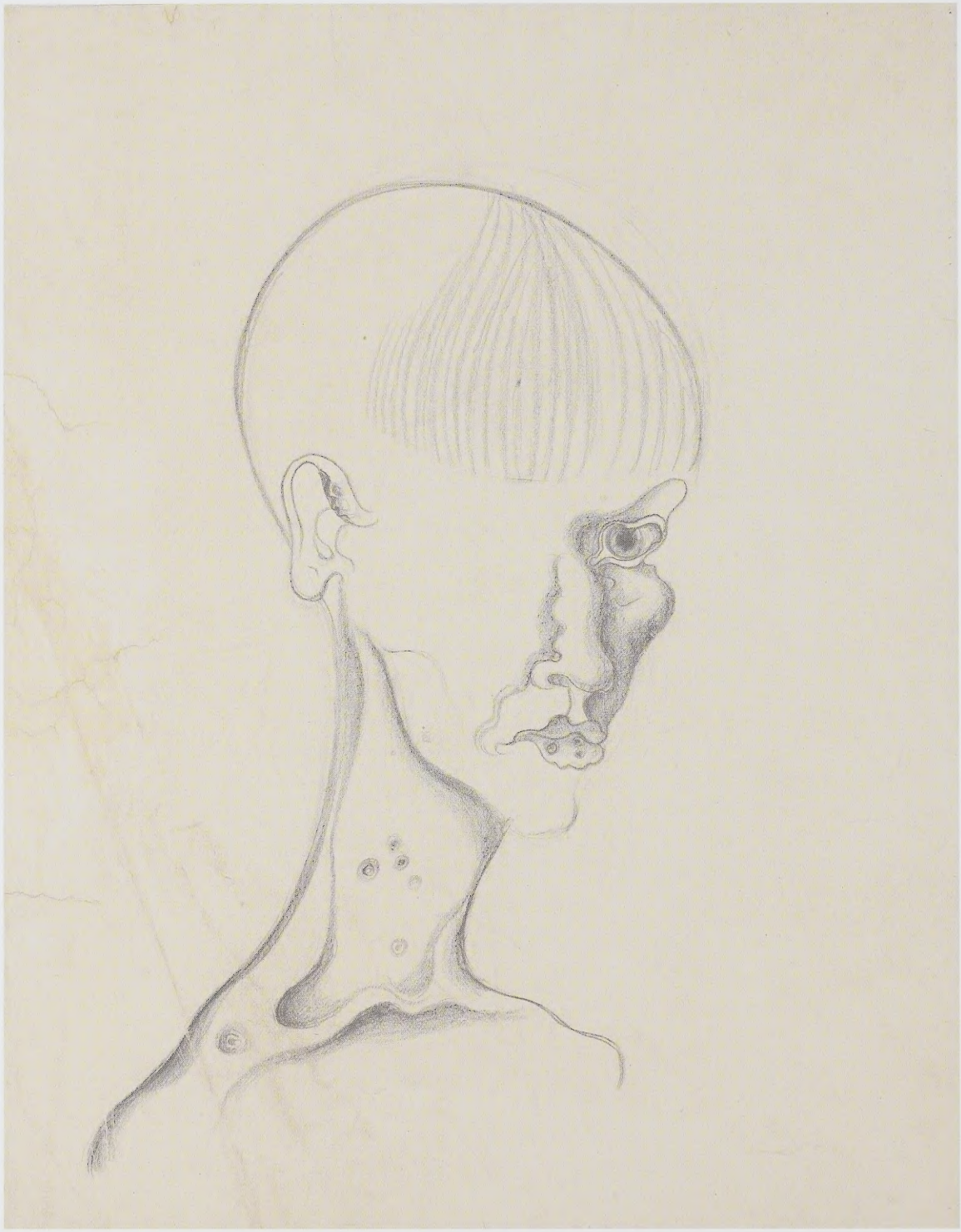


fig. 15 Heinrich Hoerle, **Frauenkopf** (Pockmarked Angelika), 1922

who resembles Angelika Hoerle [see cat. 31]. The snub-nosed dog inhabiting the hat bears a sorrowfully resigned, knowing look, its upward glance a counterpoint to the downward contemplative gaze of the woman. Behind her grins a plantlike form, mocking – or is it encouraging? – as do the waving hands in previous works. The artist's monogram – the capital "A" – props up a breast, as if in symbolic support of her womanhood.

The familiar cast of characters reappears in another haunting self-portrait titled *Frauenporträt* (Portrait of a Woman) [see cat. 33]. The fact that this self-picturing was performed on a torn scrap of perforated paper, its left and right edges respectively hand-ripped and mechanically excised, lends the drawing a latently violent urgency. The perforated edge that doubles as her spinal column resembles a serrated knife, offering a disturbingly rational consistency to a hallucinatory and fragmented picture. The sadistic language of severing initiated by mutilated edges is amplified within the drawing by a chain of crosses that bisects her neck and withering, protuberant breast as if to amputate mind and maternity from the ailing body, in whose womb a plant tragically wilts. Angelika Hoerle's array of symbolic forms accumulates before her, though she does not appear to attend to them. While these forms initially look to be a precarious tower of symbols, they are a carefully stabilized structure. Note how each object is given a horizontal base to balance on, or in the case of the introspective Cyclops, a mandorla-shaped base. These private ciphers of meaning provide psychological support in the midst of turbulence; they simultaneously teeter in the balance and offer stability, allowing her to rest her chin on the stack.

Drawings such as these enact distance from illness, and are a way of ordering pain and personal tragedy. *Portrait of a Woman* [see cat. 33] is not a reflection on the ravages of tuberculosis – her lungs are not the subject – but rather a mourning of the life that could have been, from thought to motherhood, love, frivolity and pleasure. Her use of drawing as a form of taking leave prefigures the solace of mark-making with Paul Klee, who produced similarly contemplative drawings while grappling with mortality. Diagnosed in 1936 with scleroderma, an incurable autoimmune disease characterized by a hardening of the skin, Klee's artistic output, the majority of which were drawings,[9] increased dramatically during the final years of his life.

Requiring only a pencil and a surface to receive its marks, drawing offers an obvious advantage for the weak or bedridden. Its simplicity and rapidity enables immediate representation, from notation to more complex mediations. Scholars have interpreted Klee's *Eidola* (from the Greek *eidos*, meaning idea or form) and *Angels* series, rendered during the final years of his life, as a form of farewell from the world of matter and human foible. Commenting on the transitory, metamorphic and discontinuous qualities in Klee's late works, Matthias Bärmann writes: "These images are like topographies of a passage, explorations of a dimension between 'not yet' and 'no longer,' occupying a twilight zone between life and death, which is conjured up not least by allusions and references."[10] Drawing on the notion of "topography of passage,"

I suggest that Angelika's final psychologically laden and symbolic drawings are an allusive form of ordering and self-declaration in the face of, or in spite of, death's imminence. Her emphasis, in contrast to Klee, is on the sensory, material world of (lost) experience – the "I am" and the "I will no longer (be)" – rather than the liminal realm of the imperfectly angelic.

It is tempting, but ultimately futile, to speculate what Angelika Hoerle would have contributed to the history of art had she lived to develop her talents. It is no coincidence that Katherine Dreier perceived a latent subversive potential in her work, which was responsive to the currents of the time and as such can be seen as representative – even anticipatory at times – of avant-garde concerns during the interwar period, particularly the associations between drawing and the psyche that would subsequently dominate the European art world. Such contextualization places Angelika's sensitive drawings within the larger cultural framework that was beginning to investigate the relationship between psychoanalysis and drawing, self-articulation and the drawn line, transforming what might be perceived as introspective, private and perhaps even insignificant doodlings into artistic ruminations on the medium. More significantly, however, she has left us with thoughtful studies of identity and self in transition and dissolution. Even in death, her works are drawings in-the-process-of-becoming, in the process of becoming Angelika Hoerle.

1 This essay has benefited from exchanges with Angelika Littlefield and Edward Krčma. I thank them for their support. Any errors are my own.

2 Sabine T. Kriebel, "Cologne Dada," in *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris*. ed. Leah Dickerman, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New York: D.A.P., 2005).

3 While the simple, schematized abstraction of this head recalls expressionist painter Alexei von Jawlensky's contemporaneous abstract constructivist heads, Angelika Hoerle's knowledge of his work remains a matter of speculation. Similarities notwithstanding, Angelika's abstraction is pushed to a greater degree of simplification, bearing greater resemblance to automata and mannequins than von Jawlensky's post-expressionist countenances.

4 Dreier's ardent support for innovative form and subjective "spiritual" content which addressed modern concerns is discussed at length in Ruth L. Bohan's *The Société Anonyme's Brooklyn Exhibition: Katherine Dreier and Modernism in America* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980/1982).

5 Angelika Littlefield, *The Dada Period in Cologne: Selections from the Fick-Eggert Collection* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1988), p. 32.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

7 Paul Klee, *Pedagogical Sketchbook* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 16, fig. 1.

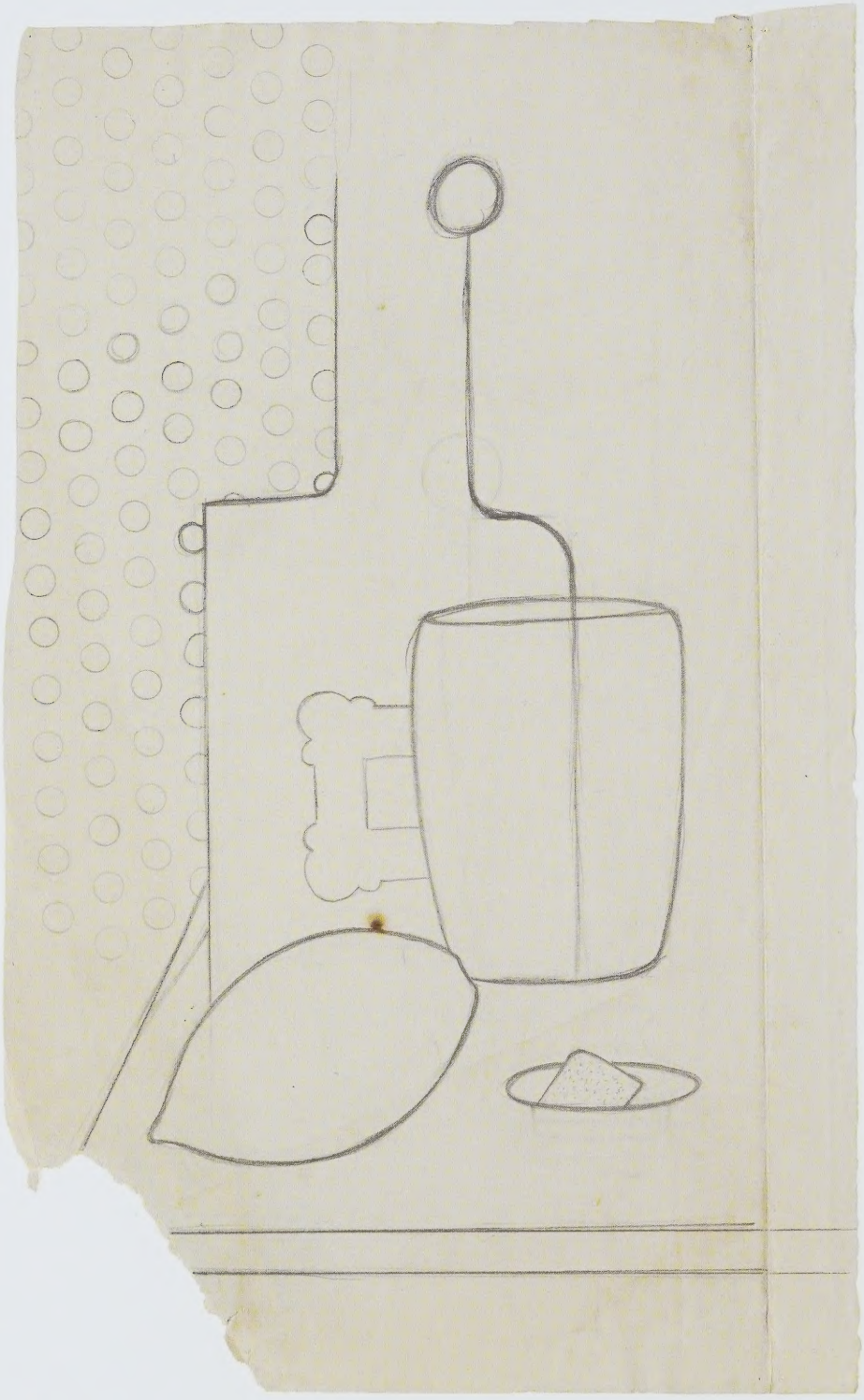
8 For a discussion of Ernst's Cologne Dada collages, their relation to Freudian theories, and parallels with other Cologne Dada tactics, see Sabine T. Kriebel, "Cologne Dada."

9 A growing body of literature has emerged in recent years on Paul Klee's drawing and illness. See Paul Dückers, *Paul Klee. Späte Werkfolgen* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1997); Mark Luprecht, *Of Angels, Things, and Death: Paul Klee's Last Painting in Context* (Basel: Peter Lang, 1999); *Paul Klee: Die Erfüllung im Spätwerk* (Basel: Fondation Beyeler, 2003); Hans Suter, *Paul Klee und seine Krankheit. Vom Schicksal Geschlagen, Vom Leiden Gezeichnet – Und Dennoch!* (Bern: Stämpfli Verlag AG, 2006).

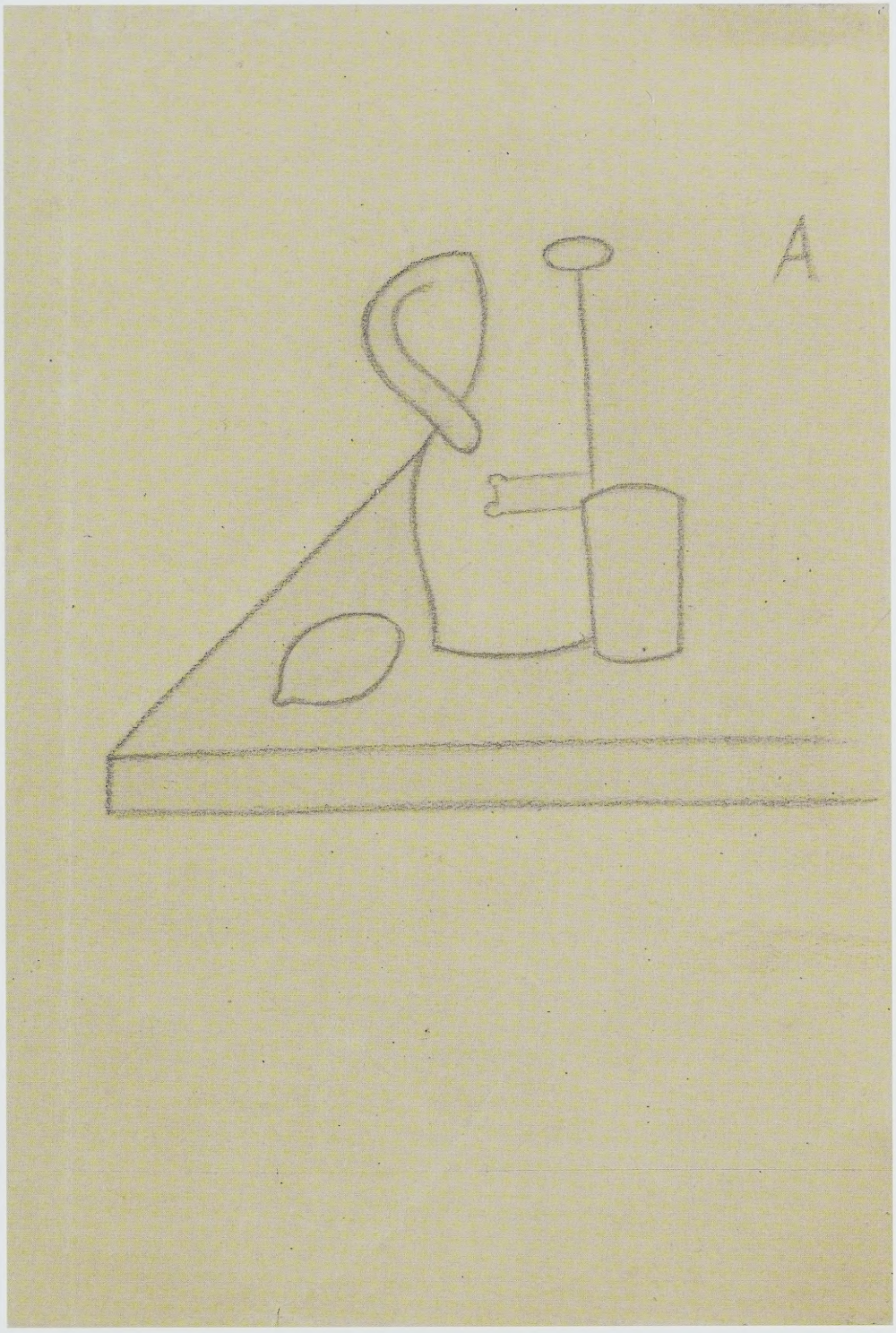
10 Matthias Bärmann, "'As if it concerned myself': Emigration, Illness and the Creative Process in Paul Klee's Last Years," in *Paul Klee: Die Erfüllung im Spätwerk* (Basel: Fondation Beyeler, 2003), p. 15.

pl. 41 Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Wallpaper Sample, 1919 (cat. 1)

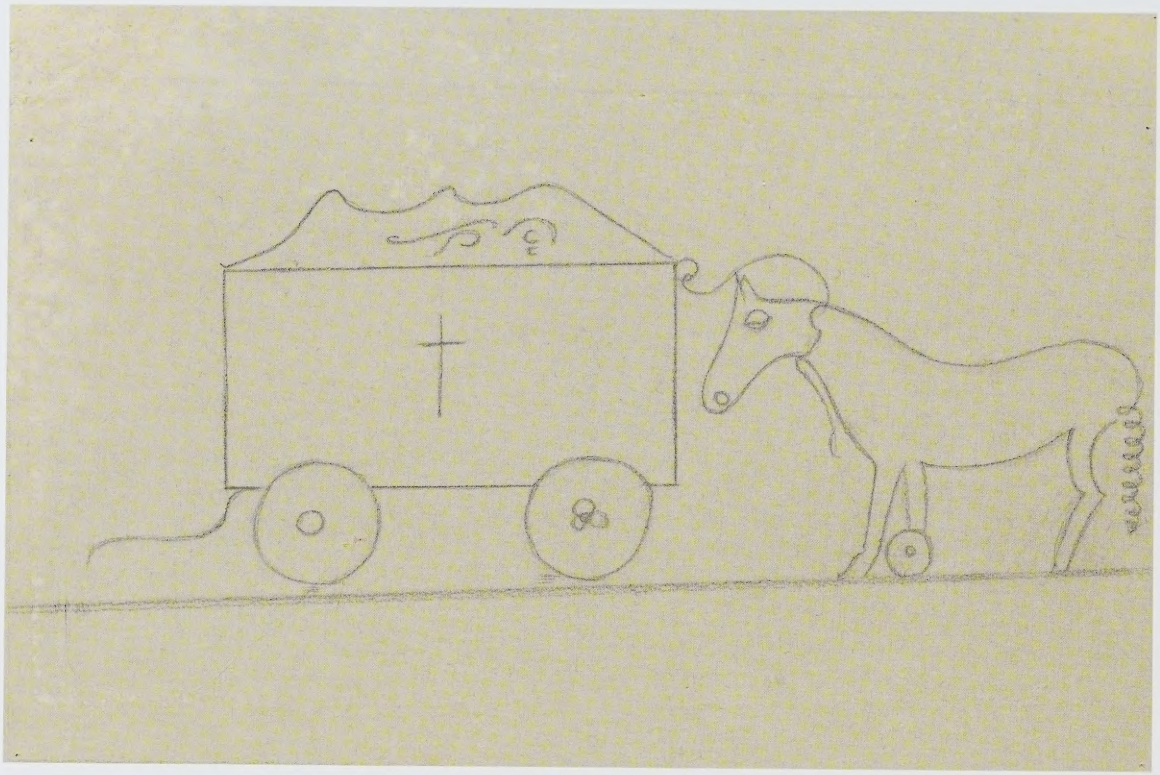




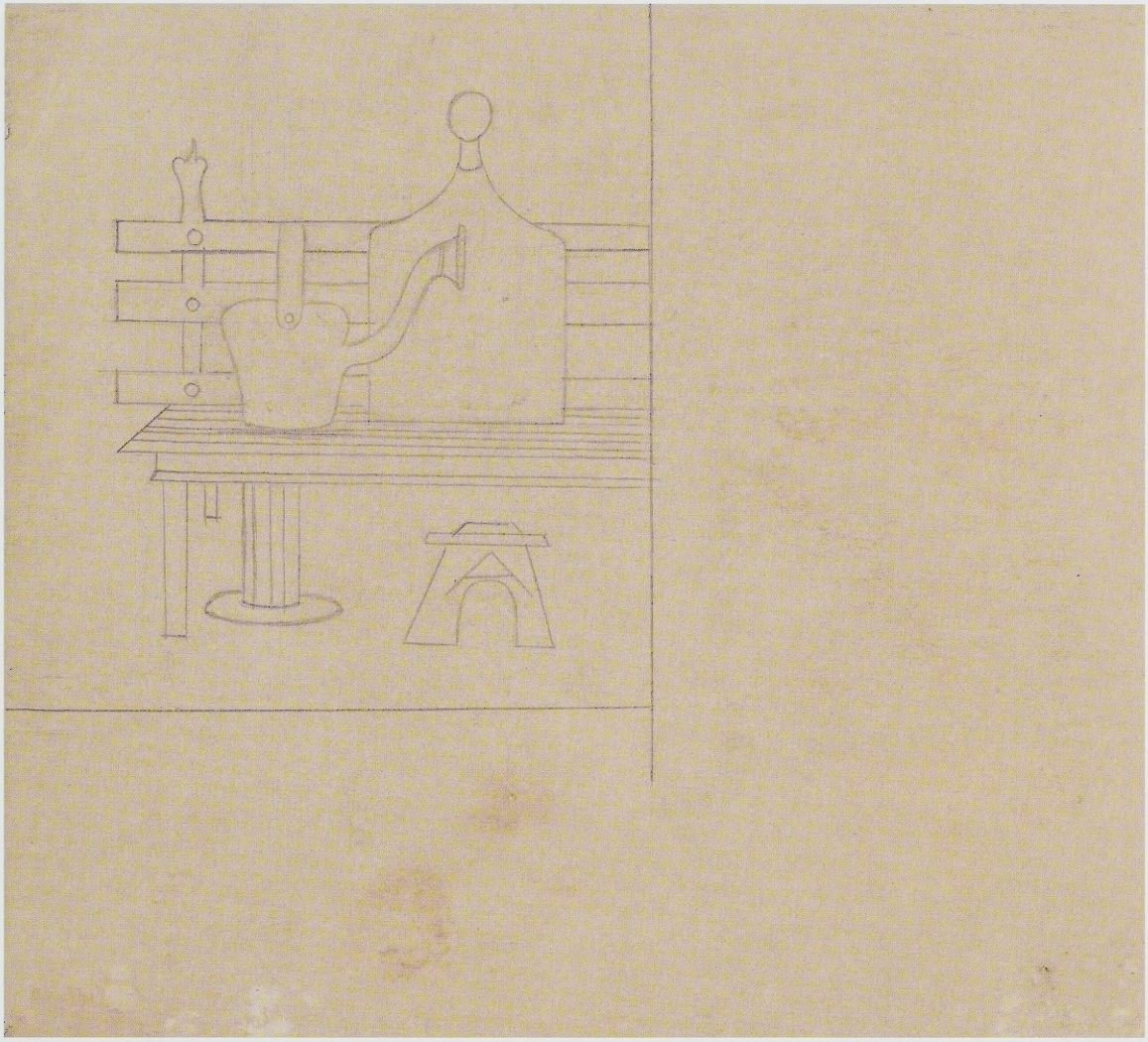
pl. 42 Angelika Hoerle, **Stilleben** (Bottle with Lemon), 1920 (cat. 13)



pl. 43 Angelika Hoerle, **Stilleben** (Jug with Glass and Lemon), 1920 (cat. 14)



pl. 44 Angelika Hoerle, **Totenwagen und Pferd** (Hearse and Horse), 1919 (cat. 7)



pl. 45 Angelika Hoerle, **Stilleben** (Garden Bench), 1920 (cat. 15)

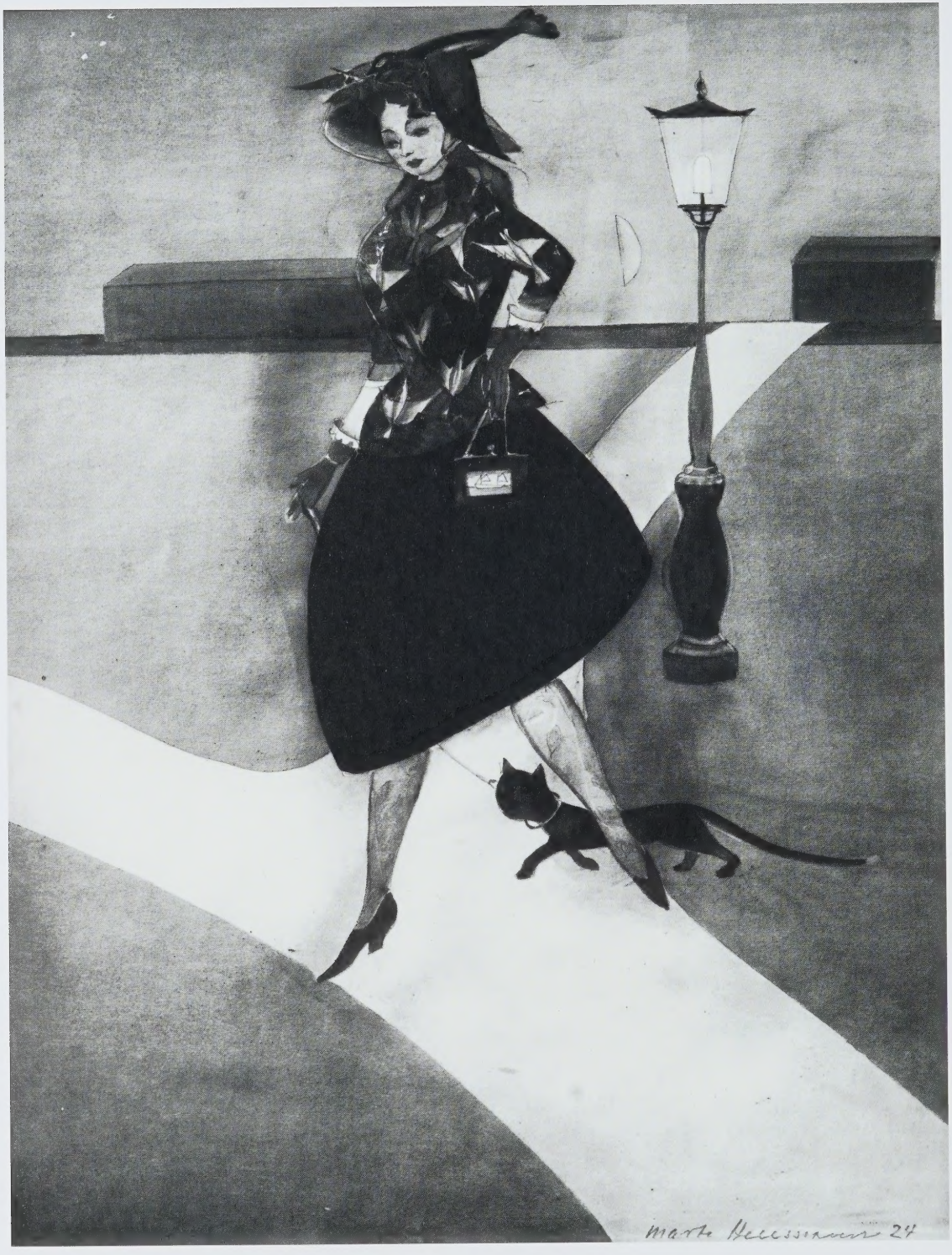


fig. 16 Marta Hegemann, **Angelika**, 1924

"Dada Angelika" and Marta "La Paloma" Hegemann

Dorothy Rowe

Despite the lure of Berlin as the epicentre of internationalism and the art market, one of the key features of German art in the first half of the twentieth century is that strong regional artistic training schools, academies, exhibitions and dealership networks were prevalent throughout the country, most notably in Munich, Düsseldorf, Dresden, Hamburg and Cologne. Such centres did not operate in isolation from one another, but fostered inter-city networks of avant-garde artistic exchange predicated in large part on shared artistic and political goals as well as personal friendships. The full extent of these friendship networks among the German avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s has yet to be fully explored, but an early example can be found in the bond between artists Marta Hegemann (1894–1970) – known affectionately as "La Paloma" after the immensely popular folk song and in tribute to one of the central leitmotifs of her art, the dove [fig. 26] – and Angelika Hoerle (1899–1923), or "Dada Angelika" as Marta fondly referred to her.[1] Both were independent young German women brought together by a shared passion for art during a period of intense political and cultural turmoil leading up to and following World War I.

Marta, Max and Angelika

Marta Hegemann was born in Düsseldorf and studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts) in Cologne in 1911/12 where she met fellow artists Willy Fick (Angelika's brother), Heinrich Hoerle and Anton Räderscheidt. It was through this circle that she came into contact with her future best friend, and Hoerle's wife-to-be, Angelika. This close-knit group was to evolve throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, shaped by personal tragedies and political rifts that affected them all. Marta



pl. 46 Angelika Hoerle, **Frauenkopf** (Head of a Woman), 1921 (cat. 25)

returned to Düsseldorf in 1912 to attend art classes at the Kunstakademie until 1914, while also training to be a drawing teacher and sports instructor.

After Anton Räderscheidt returned from the war relatively unscathed in March 1918, he and Marta married [fig. 17]; the couple settled in Cologne and had two sons. From 1919 onwards Marta became active in the Cologne art scene, publicly showing her work almost every year in individual and group exhibitions sponsored mainly by the Kölnischer Kunstverein (Cologne Art Association) until 1933, and selling it privately during the Nazi era (after having been declared a "degenerate artist" under the National Socialism regime). She would return to the public exhibition circuit in 1954, showing her work regularly in Germany until 1969, the year before her death. Such tenacity, often in the face of extremely difficult circumstances, is characteristic of a single-minded approach to artmaking that sustained Marta through turbulent times.

In pre-World War I Cologne, however, this group of Rhineland artists was able to immerse themselves in an emergent German Expressionism, encouraged in part by the opening of the Gereonsklub in 1911 by fellow artists Emmy Worringer and Olga Oppenheimer, and by the Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne in May 1912. Featuring works by such artists as Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne, Edvard Munch and Pablo Picasso, the exhibition had a huge impact on the new generation of avant-garde artists in Cologne. It was there that Marta, Angelika and Max Ernst saw works by



fig. 17 Marta Hegemann and Anton Räderscheidt at Hildeboldplatz 9, 1920

Paul Klee for the first time. Ernst in particular became closely acquainted with Klee, who later exhibited at the Gereonsklub.

The Gereonsklub served as a vehicle for an expanding cultural network of Rhineland artists, and was to have a decisive impact on all of their subsequent careers. The works of Hoerle, Räderscheidt, Ernst and Klee were to have the most significant influence on Angelika and Marta; equally but less frequently acknowledged was the concomitant influence that the works of Marta and Angelika exerted on their male friends. Shared colour palettes, common thematic tropes, collective iconographic choices and joint technical experiments were exchanged across a gender divide in which Marta and Angelika were key protagonists.[2] As Amelia Jones has eloquently argued, within



pl. 47 Angelika Hoerle, **Ohne Titel** (Untitled), drawing in *Neue Franzoesische Malerei ausgewaehlt von Hans Arp* (cat. 28)

art history there is a "tendency to privilege the cultural victors – those artists whose reputation has already been solidified or whose work in one way or another serves the purposes of the discourses that comprise the discipline and its institutional support structures."[3] Within the historiography of the modernist avant-garde in Cologne, it is Max Ernst who has inevitably dominated the scene at the expense of other figures and an enriched historical account of the networks of artistic collaboration and interconnectedness that characterized the era.

In November 1919 Ernst and Johannes T. Baargeld mounted the first public exhibition of Dada in Cologne under what turned out to be, in their case, the reluctant auspices of the Cologne Art Association. Predictably, Dada's anti-aesthetic assault on the populist socialism of the association was not well received and a rift ensued. Though two separate exhibitions were proposed, they were held on the same premises. The Dada space was called Section D and its catalogue, *Bulletin D* [fig. 18] became the first published summary of Cologne Dada's concerns, which included an attack on Cézanne and Expressionism, now representative of a rejected pre-war order. Ernst and Baargeld had initially succeeded in attracting Jean (Hans) Arp, Otto Freundlich, Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Anton Räderscheidt, Franz W. Seiwert and Paul Klee to their Dada cause. However, shortly before the exhibition opened, Seiwert registered his disapproval at what he perceived to be Dada's lack of serious political intentions, so he and Räderscheidt withdrew their work from Section D and moved it to the Cologne Art Association rooms instead.

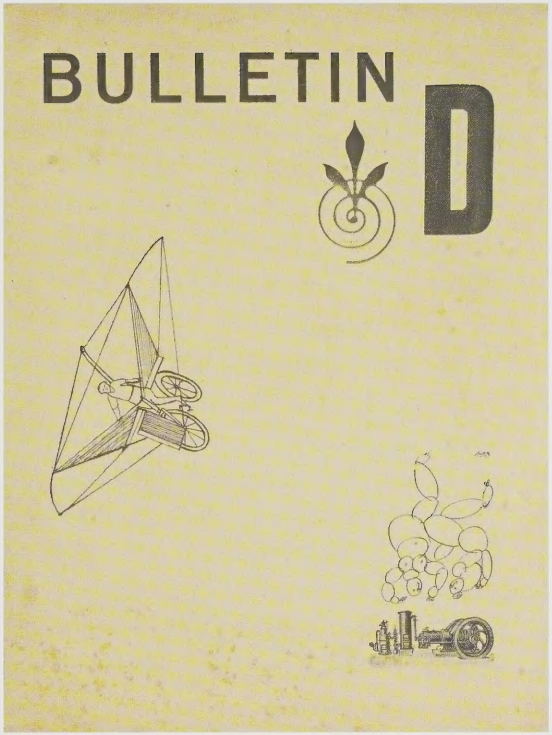


fig. 18 Max Ernst, front cover of **Bulletin D**, 1919

Standard art historical accounts of the dispute between Ernst/Baargeld and Seiwert/Räderscheidt commonly assume that it was at this moment that Stupidien (Stupid group) emerged with its base in the Räderscheidt-Hegemann apartment in Hildeboldplatz 9, as a revolt against Section D. However, Walter Vitt suggests that Stupid was not a break with Dada, but rather that they co-existed. Judging by the archival and visual evidence in the Hegemann and Fick-Eggert estates, in which Angelika emerges as a key link connecting both groups, Vitt's assessment is probably correct.[4] Although Ernst, in typically rhetorical style, later remarked that "Stupid was a Secession from Cologne Dada," the evidence suggests that the two were more intertwined than that. Samantha Kavky, among others, has observed that "as with all Ernst's autobiographical texts, actual truth is incidental."[5] It is likely that the Stupid Group became active during the summer of 1919, before Section D had even been formulated. The term "Stupidien" had already appeared in the six-issue satirical journal *Der Ventilator* (The Fan) in the spring of 1919 as a reference to the publication's editors and contributors (which included Max Ernst, Johannes T. Baargeld, Heinrich Hoerle and Otto Freundlich), and as a response to Ernst's self-designation of himself, Arp and Baargeld as the Weststupidien 3 (W3). Core members of Stupid also included Heinrich, Angelika, Willy Fick and Franz W. Seiwert, while Ernst and his wife, the art historian Luise Straus, skirted around its edges.

Angelika Hoerle's role as the linchpin in the artistic interchange between these various networks during 1919 and 1920 must in part derive from her status as Willy Fick's sister, Heinrich Hoerle's wife and Marta Hegemann's best friend. All these facets of her personal identity enabled her to move fluidly without prejudice between the activities of Schloemilch Verlag in her and Heinrich's apartment and Stupid Verlag in the Räderscheidt-Hegemann apartment.[6] Ernst's 1919 *Radierung mit Widmung für Angelika und Heinz Hoerle* (Etching Dedicated to Angelika and Heinz Hoerle) [fig. 19] portrays an androgynous mannequin wearing a suit, which appears to be fishing with an impossible line (the line is a closed circuit with no hook), while the fish is tantalizingly suspended in mid-air beside it. The engraving contains motifs that were to become increasingly familiar in Ernst's

developing iconography. That same year *Aquis Submersus* (Submerged by the Waters) had been reproduced in *Bulletin D* in which a similar dreamscape was represented – a swimming pool surrounded by rigidly geometric buildings peopled by mannequins.

In a print produced early in 1920, *Adieu mon beau pays de Marie Laurencin* (Farewell My Beautiful Land of Marie Laurencin) [fig. 20], Ernst makes further veiled references to either Angelika, her brother Willy or perhaps both. Hal Foster's persuasive argument reads the work as being gendered specifically female, based on its allusion to the French artist Marie Laurencin who, according to Uwe Schneede, had apparently attempted to secure a visa for Ernst to travel to France, but without success.[7] Foster also cites the inscription "MAMAN TOU/JOURS FJC-FICK" on the central part of the image as further ballast in his argument concerning gender. While acknowledging that "private associations are certainly possible," he fails to properly consider the more obvious and specific context to which the term FICK is likely to refer at this time, namely to Angelika (and perhaps also to her brother Willy).

In a possible visual reciprocation of Ernst's dedicated engraving to her and her husband, Angelika intended to publish a print portfolio, the *ABC Bilderbuch* (ABC Picture Book) [see cat. 12], in the Hegemann-Räderscheidt Stupid Verlag later in 1920 in which Ernst's engraved fish, suspended in mid-air with nose pointing upwards and tail downwards, is made her own. This could be deduced as one of many deliberate visual puns common to both Dada and Surrealism, yet in the absence of any other evidence this must remain speculation.[8] Significantly, Angelika's fish was also the image chosen by the Stupid Verlag as the advertisement for the entire portfolio. The ABC portfolio was to have contained 25 linocuts illustrating the letters of the alphabet and was planned as a limited edition of 100, available for subscription for 20 RM (Reichsmark). However, only four prints for the portfolio were realized [see cats. 12.1, 12.3, 12.5, 12.7].

Angelika's participation across the two presses and the two groups (Dada and Stupid) continued with her simultaneous contributions to Schloemilch Verlag. The publication of *die schammade* by Schloemilch Verlag in April 1920, under Ernst's editorial control, saw the original W3 become W5 (Ernst, Baargeld, Arp, Angelika and Heinrich) and the concomitant demise of the Stupid group [fig. 21].[9] *Röhren* (Cylinders) [see cat. 11], an abstract drawing by Angelika Hoerle composed of cylinders, lines and abstract diagrammatic motifs, is given privileged space on page 2 of an extremely full edition of *die schammade*. It is clear from her participation that Angelika was regarded as a major artist within both groups, a fact further underlined in 1922 when the great American collector Katherine Dreier purchased three of her works [see cats. 9, 35, 36] for the Société Anonyme (now part of the Yale University Art Collection).

Although Marta Hegemann did not publicly participate in the November 1919 Cologne Art Association exhibition due to the birth of her first son Johannes, she would not have passively stood by and watched the emergence

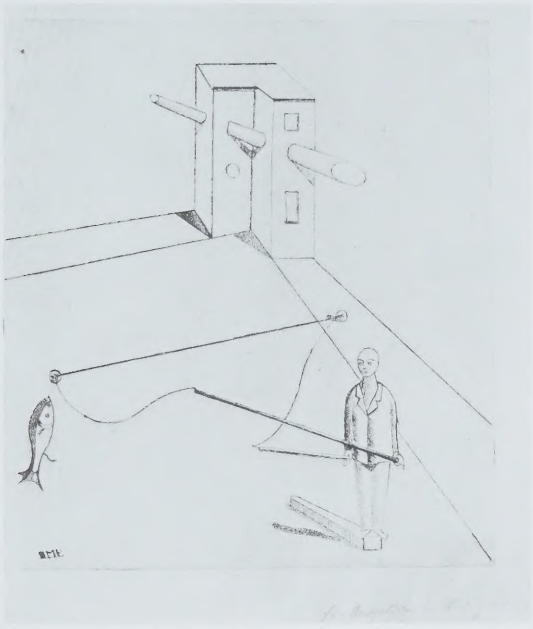


fig. 19 Max Ernst, **Radierung mit Widmung für Angelika und Heinz Hoerle** (Etching Dedicated to Angelika and Heinz Hoerle), 1919

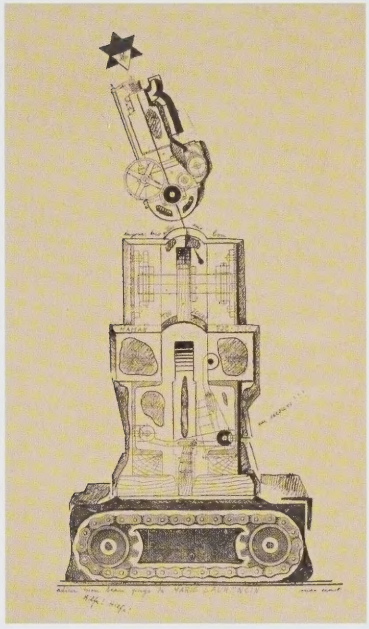
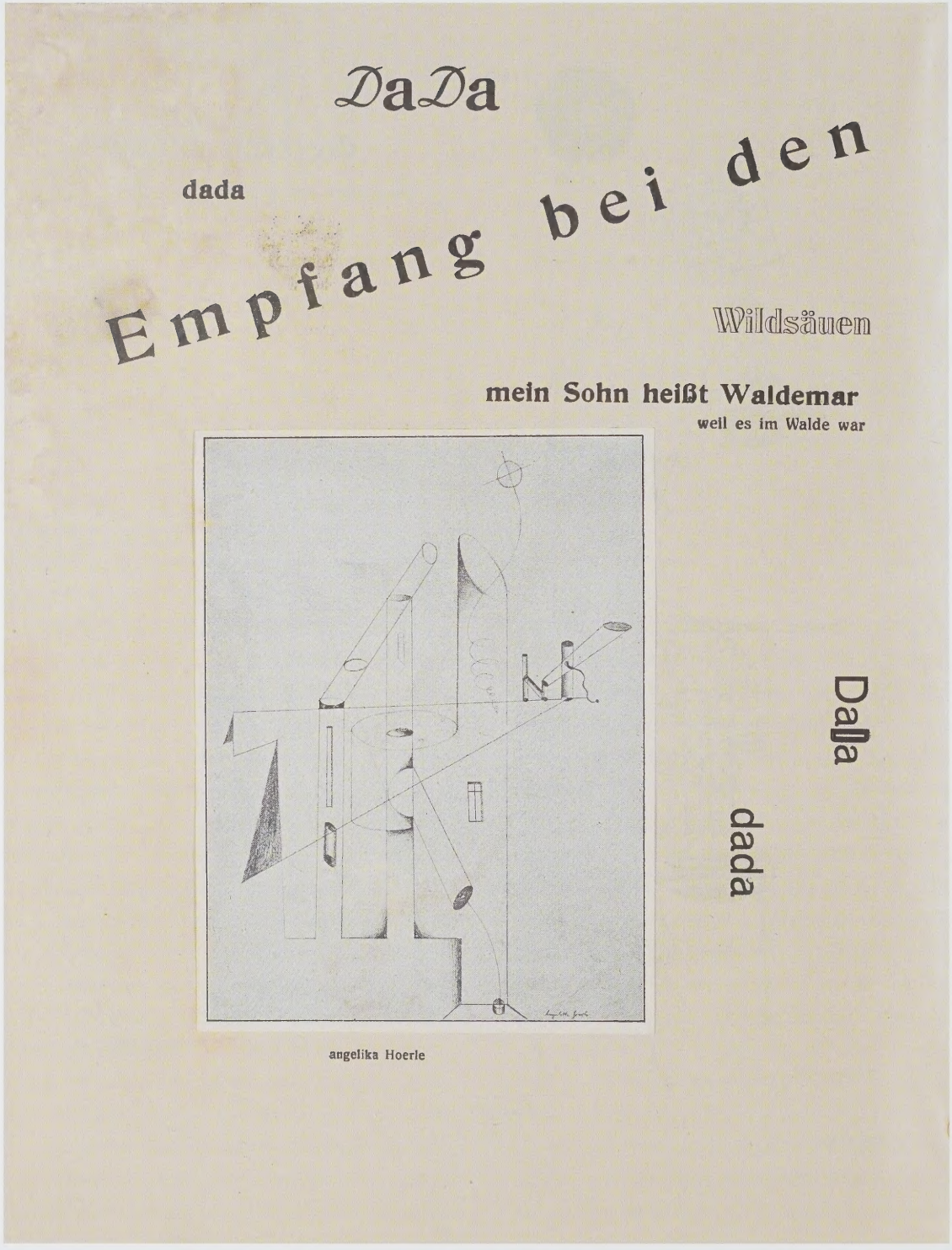


fig. 20 Max Ernst, **Adieu mon beau pays de Marie Laurencin** (Farewell my Beautiful Land of Marie Laurencin), January or February 1920

of this new Cologne avant-garde without demanding some personal involvement. The fact that the Stupids were based in her apartment, Hildeboldplatz 9, also lends credibility to the theory that they were active as a group prior to the Section D debacle. While Marta may have been restricted in her physical activities, it would be in keeping with her notorious strength of character to ensure that she was part of the action. What better way than to set up a Salon and exhibition space from home? What we do know for certain is that by the end of 1919, Marta and Anton had become intimately connected to the new circle of avant-garde artists in postwar Cologne.

Franz W. Seiwert produced the only program or manifesto of the Stupid group, which he represented as the New Cologne Painting School, and commented that "our pictures stand in the service of the exploited to whom we belong and with whom we feel solidarity."[10] The group printed one catalogue, *Stupid* 1 [see cat. 18], several print portfolios as well as individual prints made by its key members before being superseded by *die schammade*.[11] In her candid unpublished manuscript, Marta comments that between 1919 and 1920 "we were all Dadaists." She elaborates:

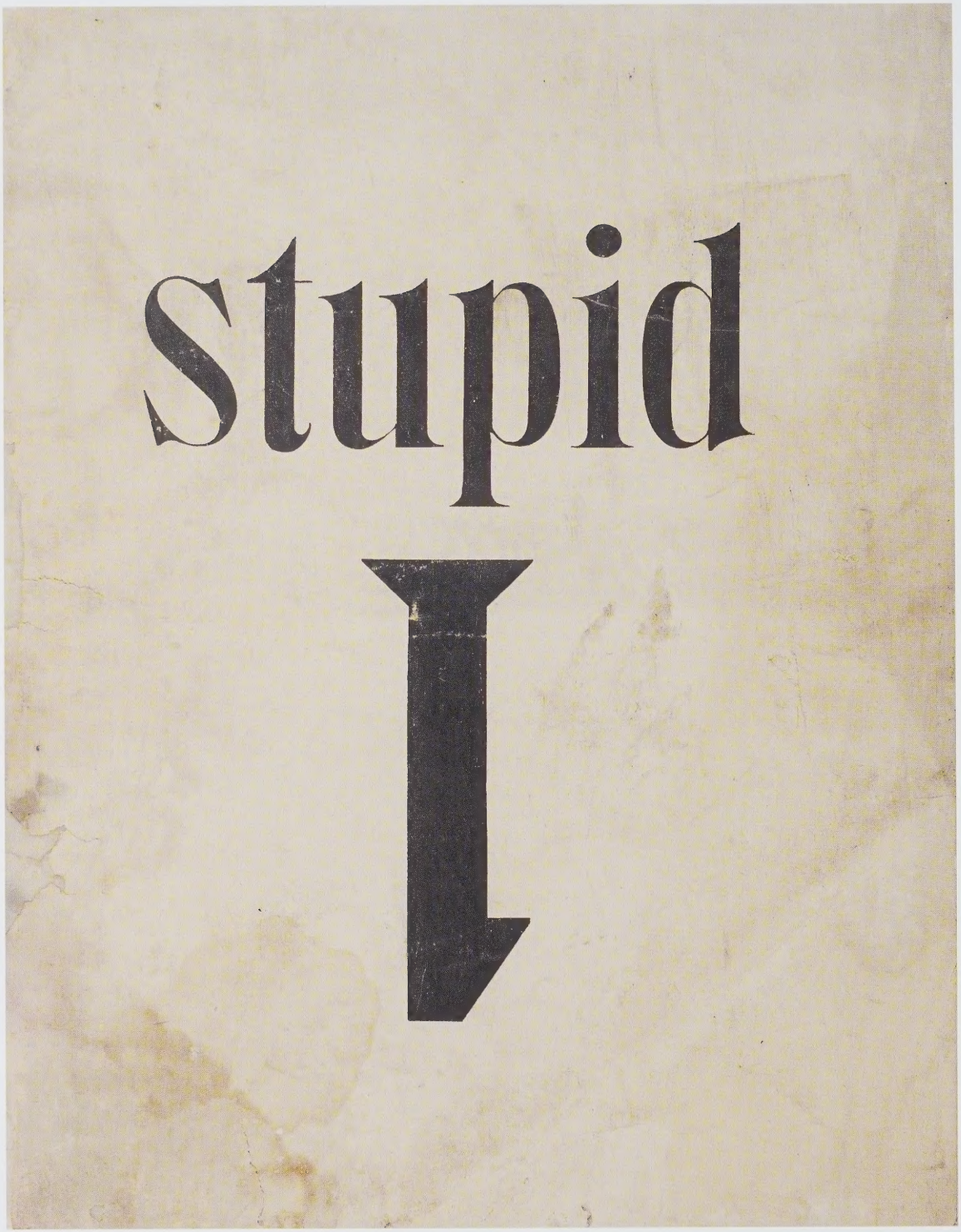
> During this period we froze, we were hungry, we celebrated but above all, we searched. And this search was immensely invigorating. Max Ernst ... was something like an older brother for us ... I believe it was at this time that [Ernst's] *L'histoire naturelle* was made. At this time we founded *Die Gruppe Stupid*.[12]



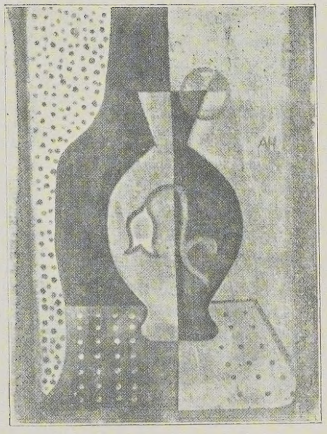
pl. 48 Angelika Hoerle, **Röhren** (Cylinders), reproduced on page 2 of *die schammade*, April 1920 (cat. 11)



fig. 21 Max Ernst, title page of **die schammade (dilettanten erhebt euch)**, April 1920



pl. 49 **Stupid 1**, catalogue cover for *Dada-Abspaltung* (Dada-Split) exhibition, November 1920 (cat. 18)



katalog nr 5

angelika hoerle

pl. 50 Angelika Hoerle, **Stilleben** (Still Life), reproduced as cat. 5 in *Stupid 1*, c. 1920 (cat. 18.2)



pl. 51 Angelika Hoerle, **Stilleben** (Still Life), reproduced as cat. 6 in *Stupid 1*, c. 1920 (cat. 18.3)



pl. 52 Angelika Hoerle, lino block for **Stilleben** (Still Life), c. 1920 (cat. 18.4)



fig. 22 Marta Hegemann, **Family Picture**, 1924

Evidence of collaboration between Marta and Ernst[13] adds further weight to the argument that these groups were far more intertwined than is often assumed within the scholarship of the period. They "shared a specifically Cologne colour palette, somewhat Middle Ages consisting of several blue-green tones and ochre,"[14] and bought materials from the same Cologne supplier, Bruno Wolkenaer. It is evident from the work of Marta, Ernst and Seiwert during this early period that a close exchange of materials and an involvement in the execution of each other's works is extremely likely to have occurred.[15]

Marta's unpublished memoirs recall that relationships among the various dramatis personae at this time wavered between either healthy and symbiotic or invidious and parasitical, a paradox that perfectly captures the spirit of Dada yet remains antithetical to most scholarly attempts at coherence. Her memoirs are evocative, but like most Dada documents they remain subjective. Nevertheless, they do offer an original and as yet unheard voice from the period:

> We, blossoming at the edges of Dada, were magnetically attracted in those perplexing times of fermentation, revolution, occupation. Confined by curfew at night, when the debates could not be stopped, also in the first revolt against Dada's world power and splendour, we were "The Stupid Group."
> It was our fate to disappear before we even came into existence. We had not yet cut the umbilical cord that joined us to Dada, but we were already searching for our own independence, as the laws within us dictated. Here is an attempt to preserve some of those extraordinary pictures from that time....
> The Stupid Group made their posters themselves, each one an original, each one pasted up by a member of the group at night and in fog. These are some of the texts:
>
> STupid is a regulars' table and
> a family tree.
> STupid is not the stamina of those
> left behind.
> STupid is good, broad and honest.
> STupid is full of insight and outlook.[1]

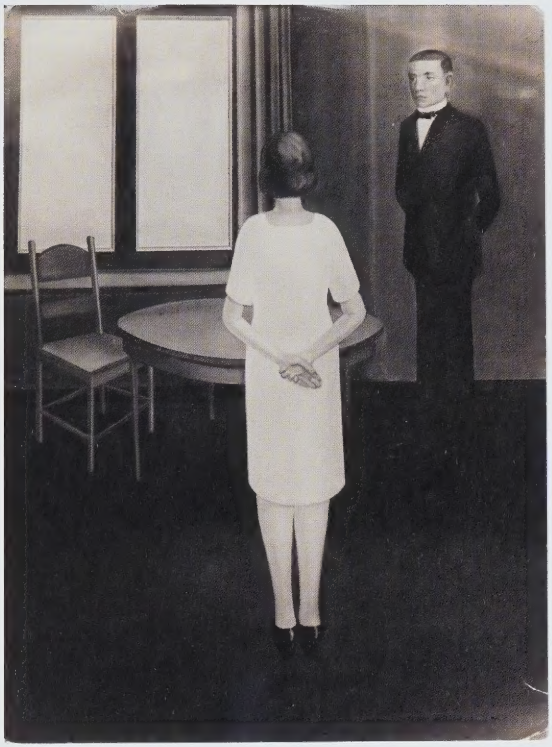


fig. 23 Anton Räderscheidt, **Innenraum, Junge Ehe** (Interior: Young Couple), 1922

Marta, Anton and Angelika

The concept of merging the "private" domestic realm of the apartment or family home with the "public" professional realm of exhibition displays continued to mark the practices and representations of both Marta and Anton during the 1920s. Although this would continue until their eventual separation in 1934, the ways in which they constructed their *ehepaar* or "married couple" identity within their artworks remains significantly different in gendered terms. Both Marta and Anton had given up their jobs as teachers in 1919 to live as artists, while also rearing a young family. The economic situation of Weimar Germany was not particularly stable and, as is well known, the publicly celebrated newfound "freedoms" for women of the Weimar era were not as far-ranging in legislative terms as popular media stereotypes of emancipated *Neue Frauen* would have us believe.[17] Marsha Meskimmon and Erika Esau, among others, have read Marta's *Family Picture* of 1924 [fig. 22] as a commentary on the difficult role in which she found herself as a professionally trained woman artist who was married to a fellow painter and assumed most of the domestic responsibilities of their existence.[18]

After a visit to Anton and Marta's Köln Bickendorf apartment in 1927, art critic Hans Schmidt-Rost rhetorically confirmed a deliberate equivalence between Räderscheidt's life and his art:

> The house corresponded exactly with the New Objectivity of Räderscheidt's painting style, as it was already recognizable in the picture *Interior: Young Couple* from 1922. There was very little furniture and no decorative implements at all. Light came from a simple round lamp. It was impossible to see through the windows because Räderscheidt had rendered them opaque with the carbon paper that architects used to draw with. In this way a diffused light penetrated the room from outside.[19]

The young couple in *Innenraum, Junge Ehe* (Interior: Young Couple) [fig. 23] is probably a representation of Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle rather than the more frequent depictions of Anton and Marta that we have come to associate so closely with Räderscheidt's oeuvre. As such, this work remains one of very few portraits of



fig. 24 Max Ernst, **La Belle Jardinière** (The Beautiful Gardener), 1923

the Hoerle couple. It could also be viewed as an early precedent in the development of a specific iconography of male/female, artist/model interaction that became an overriding theme in Räderscheidt's work in the mid-to-late 1920s. In these increasingly bizarre and alienated works, painted with an urbane and imperturbable humour, he and Marta would become the exclusive models. The regrouping of Marta, Anton, Max Ernst and Heinrich Hoerle at a 1926 exhibition held at Casimir Hagen's Richmod Galerie is, I would argue, continued evidence of the enduring bond forged between them in the immediate postwar days of Dada and Stupid, a bond that was not as easily dismissed as extant scholarship of the period may suggest.[20]

A rare exception to Anton's work in the 1920s – which increasingly focused on deadpan depictions of himself attempting painterly control over his otherwise independent wife Marta – is a now lost painting from 1923 entitled *Freundinnen* (Female Friends) [fig. 25]. There is little extant accurate information about this work; it is therefore difficult to definitively classify it as a posthumous homage to his wife's close friendship with Angelika, but I would suggest that this is a plausible interpretation.[21] The pale Angelika is seated in an armchair and looking out the window, perhaps contemplating her inevitable fate, while a benevolent Marta tentatively rests her forearms on the top of the chair. The room is sparse, the atmosphere uncanny and dreamlike – appropriate to the themes of nostalgia, loss and memory evoked in this ethereal depiction of the female friends. We know that it was Marta and Anton who stood by Angelika in the final months of her life. Furthermore, Marta not only produced a posthumous painting of an elegant and vibrant Angelika [fig. 16], but also an unpublished manuscript that documents early memories of their friendship. As with Anton's depiction of Angelika in *Female Friends*, Marta's painting now survives only through black and white photographs.

Marta's recollections of Angelika in *Reminiscences of the 1920s Art Scene*, and in an unpublished memoir released by her estate, flesh out some of the personal associations otherwise lost in the art historical narrative. It transpires that the nickname "Dada Angelika" was bestowed upon her by Max Ernst's close friend, the poet Johannes Theodor Kuhlemann. Furthermore, Ernst compared the "larger than



fig. 25 Anton Räderscheidt, **Freundinnen** (Female Friends), 1923



pl. 53 Angelika Hoerle, **Skizzenblatt mit Köpfen** (Studies), 1921 (cat. 22)



pl. 54 Angelika Hoerle, **Frauenkopf** (Head of a Woman), 1922 (cat. 32)

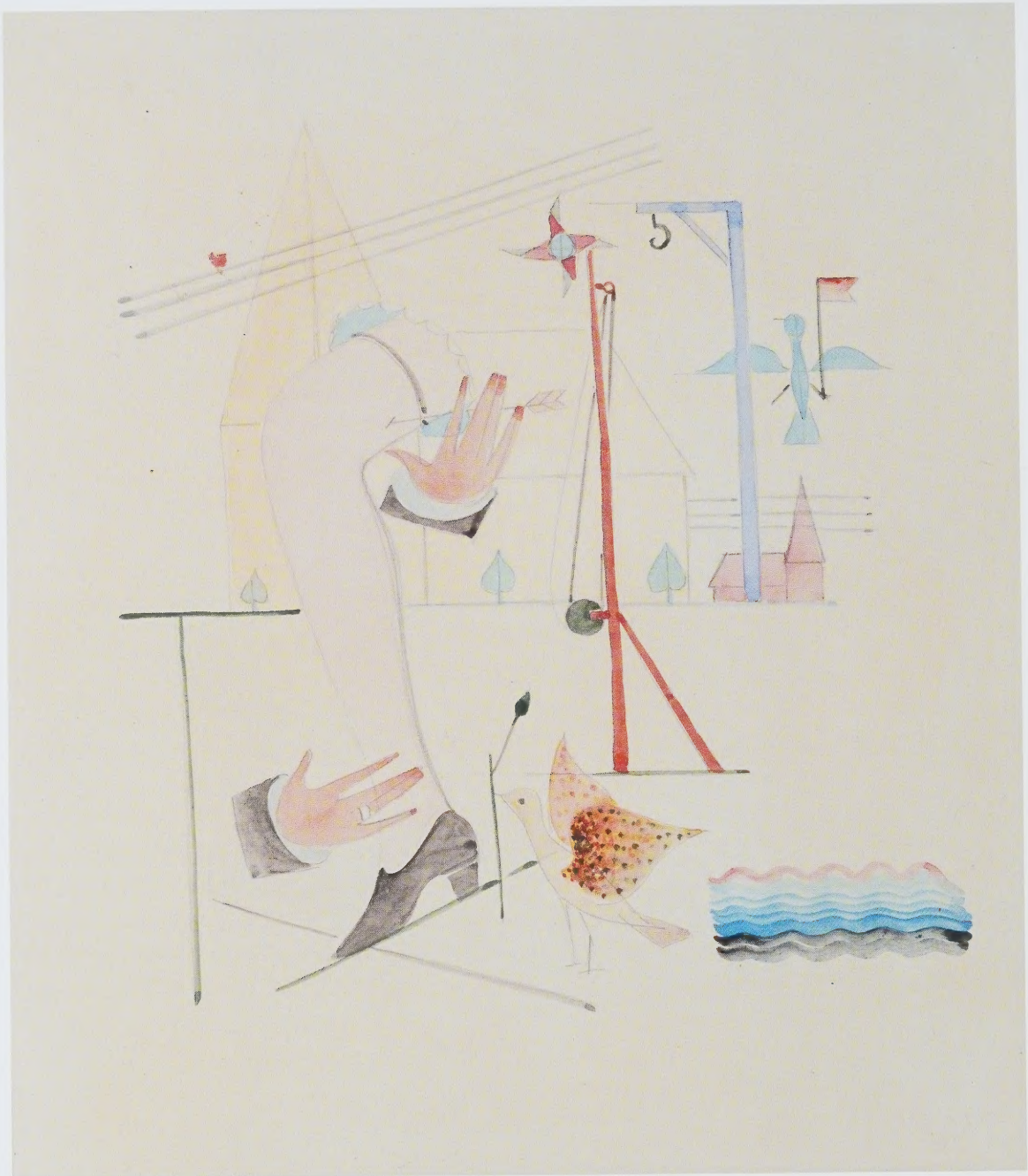


fig. 26 Marta Hegemann, **Komposition mit Kirche, Telegraphendrähten** (Composition with Church, Telegraph Wires), 1921

life" Angelika with *La Belle Jardinière* (The Beautiful Gardener) [fig. 24], which he produced shortly after Angelika's death and exhibited the following year in Paris.[22] Although it is now lost after being plundered by the National Socialists during the notorious 1937 *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition, the painting has been the subject of a number of art historical interpretations. Despite its references to both the Paris department store and to Raphael's 1507 painting of the same name, this work remains open to interpretation as with Ernst's entire œuvre.[23] It is on this basis that I propose that *La Belle Jardinière* could indeed be a tribute to the tragic loss of Ernst's young friend and fellow Dada collaborator, Angelika.

In a very different style of representation, Marta's *Angelika* [fig. 16] is depicted as a fashionable dilettante, perhaps an ironic reference to *die schammade*'s subtitle *dilettanten erhebt euch* (dilettantes rise up). Angelika towers over the minimalist landscape, as the lamppost illuminating her path is dwarfed by this fashionable creature who leads her cat in an elegant slither. Marta ensures that details about her friend are not forgotten, including the fact that Angelika trained as a milliner and was renowned for her fashionable hats. Marta's emblems of creative freedom – birds in flight and sailboats – adorn Angelika's blouse and bag respectively, while gloves cover her delicate hands.[24]

In her unpublished manuscript, *Angelika – Eine Verwandlung,* Marta recalls the occasion when Angelika was first introduced by her future husband Heinrich Hoerle to the circle of young Cologne artists:

> At first there appeared a more than life-size girl strangely dainty in her movements and with all sorts of flourishes. Rather sparse locks, bangs, a blouse like a wallpaper pattern, shuttered eyes. I think the friends had reservations. On the second visit, her transformation was rapid and astounding. What had happened? It was as if the rubbish had fallen off and suddenly the Goddesses and Fairground Angels appeared From the darkness, Angelika emerged ... no mask, a delicate clear face, a rose petal mouth, like those painted by Manet.[25]

Angelika was clearly a remarkable talent who left an indelible impression on those she met, worked with and befriended during her short life. The tragedy of her existence relates not



fig. 27 Anton Räderscheidt, **Sitzende Frau** (Seated Woman), 1924



pl. 55 Angelika Hoerle, **Japanerin** (Japanese Woman), 1921 (cat. 20)

only to the cause of her death, but is also a consequence of the near erasure of her memory from constructed narratives of art historical scholarship. Nevertheless, the public dissemination of Angelika's remarkably avant-garde work sparked by the Fick-Eggert Collection and the work undertaken by her great-niece Angelika Littlefield, as well as new research into the Hegemann-Räderscheidt estate, are restoring "Dada Angelika" and her fellow artist-companion "La Paloma" to their rightful place within art's troubled and partisan histories.

This essay has benefitted immeasurably from the generosity and insights offered so openly to me by the Hegemann-Räderscheidt family, in particular from Johannes, before he passed away, MAF, Stephan, Rosa, Pascal and Joséphine – my huge thanks to all of you. Many thanks are also due to Angie Littlefield and Michael Parke-Taylor for their enthusiasm and patience.

1 Marta Hegemann, *Reminiscences of the 1920s Art Scene* (unpublished manuscript, private collection), p. 2.

2 Other key women within these networks of artistic exchange whose histories have yet to be fully recovered include Gereonsklub founders Emmy Worringer and Olga Oppenheimer, collector Ida Bienert, and art historian Luise Straus.

3 Amelia Jones, "New York Dada: Beyond the Readymade" in *The Dada Seminars*, CASVA Seminar Papers 1, eds. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), p. 151.

4 Walter Vitt, "Dada-Legenden und Definition" in *Max Ernst in Köln: Die Rheinische Kunstszene bis 1922*, ed. Wulf Herzogenrath (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), p. 165.

5 Samantha Kavky, "Authorship and Identity in Max Ernst's *LopLop*" in *Art History* 28, no. 3 (June 2005), p. 361.

6 In typical Dada fashion, the names of both presses evoke associations with nonsense in a deliberately subversive vein. In regards to Stupid Verlag, the use of English words as proper nouns was a regular practice among the group in response to the British occupation and dissatisfaction with the restriction of their movements and activities. Meanwhile, Schloemilch Verlag may well refer to the German statistician Oskar Schlömilch, who gave his name to the *Schlömilch transformation*. The concept of transformation or metamorphosis operates as a perfect metaphor for the Dada projects of Schloemilch Verlag.

7 Hal Foster, "A Bashed Ego: Max Ernst in Cologne" in *The Dada Seminars*, CASVA Seminar Papers 1, eds. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), p. 137; and Uwe M. Schneede, *The Essential Max Ernst* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 34.

8 See *Duchamp, Man Ray and Picabia*, ed. Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Publishing, 2008) for a number of commentators who consider the elements of "play" and visual puns within Dada and Surrealism.

9 Sabine T. Kriebel, "Cologne" in *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris*, ed. Leah Dickerman (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2006), p. 231; and William Camfield, *Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1993), p. 73.

10 Franz W. Seiwert cited in *Marta Hegemann: Leben und Werk*, ed. Michael Euler-Schmidt (Cologne: Stadtmuseum, 1990), p. 8.

11 The print portfolios included Anton Räderscheidt's *Dramentage*, Heinrich Hoerle's *Frauen*, Franz W. Seiwert's *Geschöpfe* and Angelika Hoerle's *ABC Bilderbuch* (not realized), as well as postcards by Willy Fick, Angelika, Heinrich, Marta, Anton and Franz.

12 Marta Hegemann, *Reminiscences of the 1920s Art Scene*, p. 2. Standard art historical accounts tend to differ regarding Ernst's role in Stupid, and more often than not bypass it altogether. Hegemann's recall of exact dates in her memoirs can be a little hazy; Ernst's *L'histoire naturelle* was not actually produced until 1926, although there is no reason to assume that the genesis of the idea did not indeed begin during these early Cologne years. For more details on this and other aspects of Dada and Stupid, see Angelika Littlefield, *The Dada Period in Cologne: Selections from the Fick-Eggert Collection* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1988).

13 A particularly strong visual affinity can be found in Max Ernst's *Untitled (Men Will Never Understand It)*, 1921, gouache, watercolour and pencil on paper, 50.5 x 65.0 cm, Peter Schamoni Collection, Munich; and Marta Hegemann's *Composition with Houses, Church, Hands and Swans*, 1921, watercolour and pencil on paper, 29.3 x 23.7 cm, Museum Ludwig Cologne.

14 Marta Hegemann, *Reminiscences of the 1920s Art Scene*, p. 2.

15 In June 2008 Museum Ludwig reattributed to Marta Hegemann a small unsigned watercolour of a boat that came into its collection with a number of signed Franz W. Seiwert works on paper. All the works were painted on the same blue watercolour paper using the same colour palette, but the style of the reattributed work was not in line with Seiwert's known style and far more likely to have been executed by Marta Hegemann.

16 Marta Hegemann, *Reminiscences of the 1920s Art Scene*, pp. 4-5. The slogans work more effectively in the original version:
STupid ist ein STamm-Tisch und eine STamm-Baum
STupid ist nicht die Ausdauer der Hinterbliebenen
STupid ist gut und breit und brav
STupid ist voller Einsicht und Aussicht

17 See Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon-Evans (Oxford: Berg, 1989).

18 Erika Esau, "The Künstlerehepaar: Ideal and Reality" in *Visions of the Neue Frau: Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany*, eds. Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West (London: Ashgate, 1995), pp. 28-41; and Marsha Meskimmon, *We Weren't Modern Enough: Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999). See also Claire Zimmer, *Marta Hegemann and Anton Räderscheidt*, unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 2001.

19 Hans Schmidt-Rost cited (undated but after 1927) in Horst Richter, *Anton Räderscheidt* (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1972), p. 23; and Gunther Herzog, *Anton Räderscheidt* (Cologne: Dumont Verlag, 1991), p. 28. Schmidt-Rost is cited in full in Zimmer 2001, p. 24, footnote 71.

20 See "Anton Räderscheidt" in Casimir Hagen's *Jankel Adler, Gerd Arntz, Max Ernst, Marta Hegemann, Heinrich Hoerle, Anton Räderscheidt, Franz Seiwert, Gert Wollheim* (Cologne: Richmod Galerie, Richmodstrasse 3, 1926).

21 For example, Horst Richter offers no explanation other than to say that the seated figure is definitely not Marta Hegemann. Richter, *Anton Räderscheidt*, p. 19.

22 Marta Hegemann, *Reminiscences of the 1920s Art Scene*, pp. 2-3.

23 Uwe M. Schneede, *The Essential Max Ernst* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 59.

24 For further information on Marta's iconography, see Catherina Berents's "Befreiungsikonographie gegen eine conservative Frauenrolle" in *Marta Hegemann: Leben und Werk*, ed. Michael Euler-Schmidt (Cologne: Stadtmuseum, 1990), pp. 49-72.

25 See Marta Hegemann, *Angelika – Eine Verwandlung*, Hegemann-Räderscheidt Estate, Cologne, unpublished manuscript.

pl. 56 Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Wallpaper Sample, 1919 (cat. 1.2)





Anton Räderscheidt, Angelika Hoerle and Marta Hegemann, 1923

Chronology

1899

Angelika is born in Cologne on November 20, the youngest child of Richard Fick (1861–1935) and Anna Kraft Fick (1862–1927). The Ficks had four children: Maria (1890–1939), Richard Jr. (1891–1932), Willy (1893–1967) and Angelika.

1911

The Gereonsklub opens in January. Its inaugural exhibition features works by Robert Delauney, Vincent van Gogh, Ferdinand Hodler, Gustav Klimt and Pablo Picasso.

1912

The Cologne Sonderbund Exhibition opens in May and features 600 artists, including Jean (Hans) Arp, Paul Cézanne, Otto Freundlich, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Alexei von Jawlensky, Paul Klee, Gustav Klimt, Marie Laurencin, Edvard Munch and Milly Steger. *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider) almanac and Wassily Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Concerning the Spiritual in Art) are published in Munich.

Model of Franz von Stuck's *Amazone* (1900) is installed in Cologne's Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.
Paul Klee, Arnold Schönberg and members of The Blue Rider are featured at the Gereonsklub in December.

1914

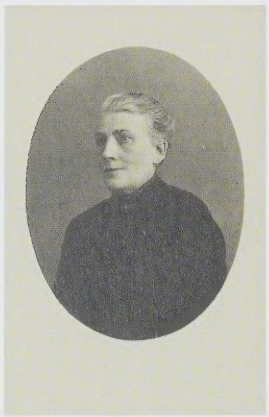
Archduke Franz Ferdinand is assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, triggering the start of World War I. Alfred Gruenwald (later Johannes T. Baargeld), Max Ernst, August Macke, Otto Freundlich, Carl Oskar Jatho, Anton Räderscheidt and Richard Fick Jr. go to war. August Macke is killed in action.

1915

Conrad Felix Müller (later Conrad Felixmüller), Otto Freundlich, Heinrich Hoerle, Oskar Kokoschka, Pablo Picasso and Franz W. Seiwert contribute to *Die Aktion*, first published in Berlin in 1911 by Franz Pfemfert.
Willy Fick completes training as a cabinetmaker, joins the Cologne Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts) and starts working for the City of Cologne.



The Fick children: Willy, Angelika, Richard and Maria, c. 1916



Anna Kraft Fick



Angelika, Richard Fick Sr. and Richard Jr., 1917



Richard Jr. in Berlin



Maria Fick Eggert, 1924

Angelika becomes a millinery apprentice.
A splinter group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) refuses to vote for further credits to finance World War I.

1916

Ludwig Rubiner publishes his anti-war periodical *Zeit-Echo* in Zurich to escape censorship.
Cabaret Voltaire is established in Zurich by Hugo Ball and his partner Emmy Hennings as a forum for artistic and political purposes. Other members include Dada group founders Tristan Tzara and Jean (Hans) Arp.
Otto Freundlich returns from war and contributes to *Zeit-Echo*.
Jatho discussion group shows works by Wassily Kandinsky, Lyonel Feininger and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner.

1917

After various expulsions from parliament and regroupings, the United Socialist Party of Germany (USPD) splits from the SPD.
A series of revolutions in Russia propel the Bolsheviks into power.
Heinrich Hoerle and Willy Fick receive notice to serve in non-combat positions.
First Dada exhibition in Zurich at the Galerie Corray in Zurich includes works by Jean (Hans) Arp, Giorgio de Chirico and Hans Richter.
Irene Mermet and Ret Marut publish anti-war periodical *Ziegelbrenner* (The Brickburner) in Munich.
Cologne's twenty-five USPD members are arrested for subversion in May.
Hans Richter, de facto editor of *Zeit-Echo* in Zurich, repudiates the elitist world of art professionals and those who create art for commercial gain.
Heinrich Hoerle's father dies of tuberculosis.

1918

Kaiser Wilhelm II steps down from power in Germany on November 9, paving the way for the Weimar Republic.
An armistice agreement brings World War I to an end on November 11.
Marta Hegemann and Anton Räderscheidt marry in March; Max Ernst and Luise Straus marry in July.
Revolutions in Germany; occupying armies refuse to negotiate with Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.
German women are granted the right to vote.
The British occupy Cologne; they would rule Cologne until 1920.
Johannes T. Baargeld joins the leadership of the local USPD, which has 250 members as of November.
Karl Nierendorf founds Gesellschaft der Künste (Society of Arts), Kairos publishing house and *Der Strom* periodical.



Angelika Hoerle (née Fick), 1914

1919

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are murdered on January 15 by Freikorps (Free Corps) troops linked to the SPD government.
The first postwar elections take place in Germany on January 19; the SPD retains power.
Heinrich Hoerle designs the logo for *Der Strom*, the journal of the Society of Arts. The first of seven issues includes contributions by Max Ernst, Otto Freundlich, Heinrich Hoerle, and Carl Oskar and Käthe Jatho (as Jean Kammermacher).
Der Ventilator is distributed at factory gates between January and March. Heinrich Hoerle, Ret Marut, Otto Freundlich, Max Ernst, Franz W. Seiwert and Johannes T. Baargeld hide behind pseudonyms to escape attention of British censors.
Kurt Eisner, president of the Bavarian Republic, is murdered in Munich on February 21.
The City of Cologne establishes the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Künstler (Artists' Guild); both Max Ernst and Heinrich Hoerle receive funding for the publication of their portfolios, *Fiat Modes* and *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio).
Angelika and Heinrich marry on June 19.
Eugen Léviné is assassinated in Bavaria on July 5 only a week after his Council Republic takes power.
Political cartoons by Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle and Max Ernst appear in USPD paper *Sozialistische Republik* in special editions for the City of Cologne fall elections.
The fall exhibition at the Kölnischer Kunstverein (Cologne Art Association) is divided into two sections. Angelika plays a key role in the Section D exhibition, and two of her works are featured in the *Bulletin D* catalogue.

1920

Heinrich Hoerle's *Cripple Portfolio* receives positive reviews when exhibited at the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Applied Arts).
Angelika and other Section D artists exhibit at the Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh & Co., in Düsseldorf, a gallery owned by Dr. Hans Koch, a prominent collector of Rhineland artists.
The Kapp Putsch takes place in Berlin in March, while continuing labour unrest leads to general strikes.
Dada-Vorfrühling (Dada Early Spring) exhibition opens at the Brauhaus Winter tavern in April. The exhibition is temporarily shut down on claims of obscenity; a poster reading "Dada Siegt!" ("Dada Triumphs!") announces its reopening.
die schammade is produced by Schloemilch Verlag in April.
Permanent *Stupid 1* exhibition opens at Hildeboldplatz 9 (Hildebold Square 9); Stupid Verlag flyers advertise upcoming series by Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Marta Hegemann and Anton Räderscheidt.

1921

Inflation soars in Germany.
Angelika contracts tuberculosis.

1922

Works by Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Franz W. Seiwert, Otto Freundlich and Jankel Adler are featured in the international art exhibition in Düsseldorf from May to July.
Katherine Dreier buys three works by Angelika Hoerle from the Nierendorf Gallery in Cologne.
Heinrich abandons Angelika.
Works by Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle, Willy Fick, Max Ernst, Anton Räderscheidt and Franz W. Seiwert are featured in the exhibition titled *Unter eigner Jury* (Jury of Our Own).

1923

Angelika Hoerle dies on September 9.



Angelika Hoerle, Anton Räderscheidt, Marta Hegemann and Heinrich Hoerle

List of Works

Angelika Hoerle

(born and died Cologne, Germany, 1899–1923)

Unless otherwise noted, all works are from the Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Angelika and David Littlefield in memory of Angie's great-uncle Willy Fick and her parents Frank and Suse Eggert, 2002.

Works preceded by an asterisk (*) indicate that their location is unknown.



1.
Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle
Wallpaper Sample
1919
distemper on paper
53.5 x 47.0 cm
stamped in ink u.l. (twice):
Heinrich Hoerle / Köln-Lindenthal / Bachemerstrasse 243
2002/10939



1.1
Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle
Wallpaper Sample
1919
distemper on paper
47.5 x 42.0 cm
stamped in ink l.r.:
Heinrich Hoerle / Köln-Lindenthal / Bachemerstrasse 243
2002/10940



1.2
Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle
Wallpaper Sample
1919
distemper on paper
59.0 x 47.5 cm
stamped in ink u.l.:
Heinrich Hoerle / Köln-Lindenthal / Bachemerstrasse 243
2002/11049



4.
Männerkopf, Strasse (Man's Head and Street)
1919
linocut on paper
34.5 x 24.5 cm
signed in graphite l.r.: *angelika hoerle*
2002/11070



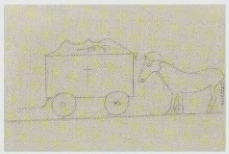
5.
Reiterin (Rider)
1919
ink on paper
29.2 x 23.0 cm
Museum Ludwig Cologne



6.
Reiterin (Rider)
reproduced as cat. 19 in *Bulletin D*, November 1919
ink on paper
31.5 x 24.0 cm
On loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario from the Fick-Eggert Collection
24487



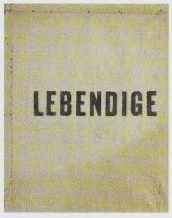
*6.1
Liebespaar (Lovers)
listed as cat. 18 in *Bulletin D*, November 1919
c. 1919
medium unknown



7.
Totenwagen und Pferd (Hearse and Horse)
1919
graphite on paper
13.0 x 19.3 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11079



1.3
Angelika and Heinrich Hoerle
Wallpaper Sample
1919
distemper on paper
56.5 x 47.5 cm
stamped in ink u.l.:
Heinrich Hoerle / Köln-Lindenthal / Bachemerstrasse 243
2002/10941



2.
Lebendige
(The Living)
1919
relief prints on paper
92.0 x 59.5 cm
On loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario from the Fick-Eggert Collection
23271



2.1
Angelika Hoerle
Jean Jaurès
1919
relief print on paper
30.0 x 23.0 cm
23273



2.2
Angelika Hoerle
Eugen Léviné
1919
relief print on paper
30.0 x 23.0 cm
23272



3.
Frau und Kind
(Woman, Child and Lamp)
1919
linocut on paper
20.0 x 17.5 cm
signed in graphite l.r.: *angelika hoerle*
2002/10964



8.
UNSERM / LIEBEN / WILLI FICK / DIE GRUPPE / STUPID
(To our dear Willy Fick, The Stupid Group)
dedication drawing in Ernst Fuhrmann, *Schwedische Felsbilder von Göteborg bis Strömstad*
c. 7 February 1920
graphite and coloured pencil on paper, 23.5 x 30.5 cm
2002/10847



9.
Weibliches Halbporträt
(Female Bust)
1920
pen, watercolour and graphite on paper,
35.4 x 28.7 cm
Signed in graphite l.r.: *angelika hoerle 20*
Yale University Art Gallery, gift of the Collection Société Anonyme
1941.502



10.
Ohne Titel (Untitled)
1920
watercolour and ink on paper
35.0 x 50.0 cm
signed in ink l.l.: *1920 hoerle*
Museum Ludwig Cologne



* 11.
Röhren (Cylinders)
reproduced on page 2 of *die schammade (dilettanten erhebt euch)* (Dilettantes Rise Up), April 1920
c. 1920
graphite on paper,
32.4 x 25.0 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11005



12.
ABC Bilderbuch
(ABC Picture Book),
flyer printed by
Stupid Verlag, 1920
28.9 x 22.4 cm
On loan to the Art
Gallery of Ontario
from the Fick-Eggert
Collection
107953



12.1
Fisch (Fish)
1920
linocut on paper
16.0 x 27.0 cm
2002/10966



12.2
Fisch (Fish)
1920
linoblock
24.0 x 13.0 cm
Private collection



12.3
Haus (House)
1920
linocut on paper
22.0 x 14.0 cm
2002/10967
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery
of Ontario, gift of
Dr. F. Michael Eggert
and Mrs. Colette
M. Lehodey Eggert
in memory of great-
uncle Willy Fick
and Suse and
Frank Eggert, 2002



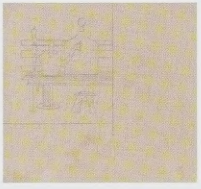
12.4
Haus (House)
1920
linoblock
18.0 x 12.0 cm
Private collection



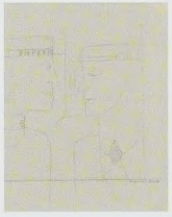
13.
Stilleben
(Bottle with Lemon)
1920
graphite on paper
29.5 x 18.5 cm
On loan to the Art
Gallery of Ontario
from the Fick-Eggert
Collection
23267



14.
Stilleben
(Jug with Glass
and Lemon)
1920
graphite on paper
18.0 x 12.0 cm
2002/10973



15.
Stilleben
(Garden Bench)
1920
graphite on paper,
22.0 x 24.0 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery
of Ontario, gift of
Dr. F. Michael Eggert
and Mrs. Colette
M. Lehodey Eggert
in memory of great-
uncle Willy Fick
and Suse and
Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11081



16.
Hotelboy und Mann I
(Hotel Boy and Man I)
1920
graphite on paper,
28.0 x 22.0 cm
signed in graphite
l.r.: *Angelika Hoerle*
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery
of Ontario, gift of
Dr. F. Michael Eggert
and Mrs. Colette
M. Lehodey Eggert
in memory of great-
uncle Willy Fick
and Suse and
Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11083



* 17.
Hotelboy und
Mann II
(Hotel Boy
and Man II)
1920
graphite on paper
27.8 x 20.9 cm



12.5
Lampe (Lamp)
1920
linocut on paper
24.5 x 17.5 cm
2002/10968



12.6
Lampe (Lamp)
1920
linoblock
24.0 x 8.5 cm
Private collection



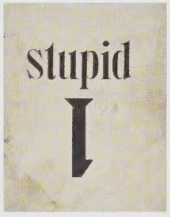
12.7
Vogel (Bird)
1920
linocut on paper
27.0 x 15.5 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11077



12.8
Vogel (Bird)
1920
linoblock
18.0 x 12.0 cm
Private collection



12.9
Vogel (Bird)
1920
linocut on paper
18.0 x 9.5 cm
2002/10970



18.
Stupid 1
catalogue cover for the *Dada-Abspaltung* (Dada-Split) exhibition
Cologne: Stupid Verlag, November 1920
28.4 x 22.3 cm
2002/10858.1



18.1
Stupid 1
catalogue listing for the *Dada-Abspaltung* (Dada-Split) exhibition
Cologne: Stupid Verlag, November 1920
28.4 x 22.3 cm
2002/10858.2



* 18.2
Stilleben (Still Life)
reproduced as cat. 5 in *Stupid* 1
c. 1920
oil on canvas/board (?)



* 18.3
Stilleben (Still Life)
reproduced as cat. 6 in *Stupid* 1
c. 1920
linocut on paper



18.4
Stilleben (Still Life)
c. 1920
linoblock
15.2 x 10.5 cm
Private collection



* 18.5
Stilleben (Still Life)
listed as cat. 7
in *Stupid* 1
c. 1920
linocut on paper



* 18.6
Stilleben (Still Life)
listed as cat. 8
in *Stupid* 1
c. 1920
linocut on paper



19.
Zwei Frauenköpfe im Profil
(Two Women's Heads in Profile)
1921, graphite on paper
28.0 x 18.0 cm
signed in graphite l.l.: *Angelika Hoerle*
On loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario from the Fick-Eggert Collection
23265



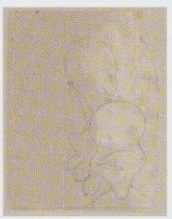
20.
Japanerin
(Japanese Woman)
1921
ink, brown wash and graphite on paper
30.5 x 40.0 cm
2002/10934



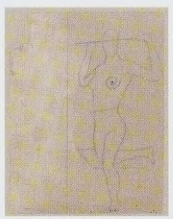
21.
Elastikakt
(Acrobat) – recto
1921
graphite on paper
23.0 x 18.0 cm
inscribed in graphite l.l.: *Elastikakt*
2002/10972.1



26.
Doppelkopf
(Woman's Head with Lamp)
1922
graphite on paper
28.0 x 22.0 cm
2002/11082
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002



27.
Köpfe mit Brüste
(Woman with Three Breasts) – recto
1922
graphite on paper
26.5 x 20.0 cm
2002/10975.1



27.1
Akt (Balancing Woman) – verso
1922
graphite on paper
26.5 x 20.0 cm
2002/10975.2



28.
Ohne Titel (Untitled)
drawing on page opposite plate 12 in *Neue Franzoesische Malerei ausgewaehlt von Hans Arp*
Leipzig: Verlag der Weissen Buecher, 1913
graphite on paper
Private collection



29.
Geteilter Tierkopf
(Dog with Hat)
1922, graphite on paper
22.5 x 15.0 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11080



21.1
Figur mit Korsett
(Study of Woman in Corset) – verso
1921
graphite on paper
23.0 x 18.0 cm
2002/10972.2



22.
Skizzenblatt mit Köpfen (Studies)
1921
graphite on paper
28.0 x 22.0 cm
2002/11052
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002



23.
Mann mit Auge entfernt
(Man with Eye Removed)
1921
graphite on paper
31.5 x 27.0 cm
2002/10977



24.
Kopf
(Veiled Woman)
1921
graphite on paper
25.0 x 20.5 cm
signed in graphite l.r.: *Angelika Hoerle*
2002/10976



* 25.
Frauenkopf
(Head of a Woman)
1921
watercolour (?)
signed in graphite u.l.: *Hoerle*



* 30.
Abstraktion
(Abstraction)
page from Angelika Hoerle's address book
c. 1922
graphite on paper
12.3 x 7.0 cm



31.
Frauenkopf
(Woman with Hat)
1922
graphite on paper
14.0 x 8.2 cm
2002/10971



32.
Frauenkopf
(Head of a Woman)
1922
graphite on paper
13.5 x 8.5 cm
On loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario from the Fick-Eggert Collection
23210



33.
Frauenporträt
(Portrait of a Woman)
1922
graphite on paper
18.0 x 6.0 cm
2002/10974



34.
Stilleben mit Büste und Bild
(Still Life with Bust)
1922
graphite on paper
28.0 x 19.5 cm
2002/10978



35.
Baum und Mauer
(Tree and Wall)
1922
graphite on paper
43.6 x 33.0 cm
signed and dated
in graphite l.r.:
Angelikahoerle 22
inscribed verso:
Angelika hoerle
Yale University Art
Gallery, gift of the
Collection Société
Anonyme 1941.503



36.
Z206, also known as
Kopf mit Rad und Autohupe (Head with
Sign, Hand, Wheel
and Auto Horn)
1922
graphite on paper
34.8 x 29.9 cm
signed and dated in
graphite l.r.:
Angelikahoerle 22
inscribed verso:
Angelika hoerle
Yale University Art
Gallery, gift of the
Collection Société
Anonyme
1941.504



37.
Abstrahierter Kopf
(Female Head)
1922
crayon on paper
40.0 x 28.0 cm
2002/10979

Exhibitions

Angelika Hoerle's works were represented in seven German exhibitions and one travelling exhibition in Russia between 1919 and 1924. From 1958 to 2008, she was represented in twelve exhibitions that included multiple venues in the United States, Canada, Italy and Germany. Her works were also exhibited in Taiwan, France, Sweden and Holland.

Cologne, November 1919: *Gruppe D* (Group D), Kölnischer Kunstverein

Cologne, 1920: Permanent exhibition of the Stupid group, Hildeboldplatz 9

Düsseldorf, February 1920: *Gruppe D* (Group D), Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh & Co., organized by Dr. Hans Koch

Wuppertal/Elberfeld, 1922: *Exhibition* (with Jankel Adler, Gerd Arntz, Heinrich Hoerle and Franz W. Seiwert)

Düsseldorf, May–July 1922: *Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung Düsseldorf* (First International Art Exhibition, Düsseldorf) at the Tietz Department Store. Exhibited with the Internationaler Kongress Fortschrittlicher Künstler (International Congress of Progressive Artists)

Cologne, spring 1922: *Exhibition*, Nierendorf – Neue Kunst Gallery, organized by Karl Nierendorf

Cologne, October 1922: *Unter eigner Jury* (Jury of Our Own), Kölnischer Kunstverein

Moscow / Leningrad (St. Petersburg) / Saratov, Russia, October–December 1924: *Erste Allgemeine Deutsche Kunstausstellung der IAH* (First Universal German Art Exhibition of the International Workers' Aid Association), organized by the IAH (with Franz Seiwert, Angelika Hoerle, George Grosz, Käthe Kollwitz and Heinrich Hoerle)

Düsseldorf and Amsterdam, 1958–59: *Yale Société Anonyme 78*

St. Anselm's, New Hampshire, 1975: *Yale Société Anonyme 92, Cologne*

Cologne, March–May 1975, *Vom Dadamax zum Gruenguertel: Koeln in den 20er Jahren*, Kölnischer Kunstverein

London, January–March 1978: *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, Arts Council of Great Britain, organized by Dawn Ades

Paris, July–November 1978: *Paris-Berlin*, Centre Pompidou

Milan, February–May 1980: *L'altra meta dell'Avanguardia 1901–1940*, Comune di Milano, organized by Lea Vergine. Also shown in Rome, 1980, and Stockholm, 1980–1981

Cologne, October 1981–January 1982: *Angelika Hoerle 1899–1923: Supplement to Heinrich Hoerle*, Kölnischer Kunstverein

Taipei, June–August 1988, *The World According to Dada*, Taipei Fine Arts Museum, organized by Stephen Foster

Toronto, September–November 1988: *The Dada Period in Cologne*, Art Gallery of Ontario. Also shown in Cobourg, Stratford, St. Catharines and Guelph, Ontario, 1989

Paris, 2005–2006, *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris*, Centre Pompidou, organized by National Gallery of Art, Washington. Also shown in Washington and New York, 2006

Los Angeles, April–August 2006: *The Société Anonyme: Modernism for America*, Hammer Museum, organized by Yale University Art Gallery. Also shown in Washington, Dallas and Nashville, 2006–2008

Simonskall, Huertgenwald, 2008, *Experiment Kalltalgemeinschaft: Die Koelner Progressiven in Simonskall 1919–1921*, Junkershaus Gallery

Toronto, May–August 2009: *Angelika Hoerle: The Comet of Cologne Dada*, Art Gallery of Ontario. Also travelling to Museum Ludwig Cologne, 2009

New Haven, 2010: Yale University Art Gallery

List of Illustrations

Works preceded by an asterisk (*) indicate that their location is unknown.

Fig. 1 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Angelika Hoerle, 1920
oil and graphite on paper, 33.0 x 26.0 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Angelika and David Littlefield in memory of Angie's great-uncle Willy Fick and her parents Frank and Suse Eggert, 2002
2002/10929

Fig. 2 Lyonel Feininger (German, 1891–1956)
Mardi Gras, from *Licht und Schatten* (Light and Shadow), no. 19, 1911

Fig. 3 *Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln* [sic] (Cologne: M. Dumont Schauberg, 1912). E.P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario

Fig. 4 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Sohn Zwischen Frau und Mutter
(Son between Woman and Mother), c. 1916–1917
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Museum Ludwig Cologne
ML/Dep. 0271

Fig. 5 Angelika Fick, Richard Fick Sr. and Willy Fick, c. 1916. Photo: W. Lenders

Fig. 6 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Poster Design for United Socialist Party (USPD), from *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio), 1918
graphite and ink on paper, 65.0 x 49.5 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11045

Fig. 7 Franz von Stuck's *Amazone* (Amazon) sculpture outside the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.

Fig. 8 Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976)
Ohne Titel (Untitled)
plate 7 from the portfolio *Fiat Modes, pereat ars* (Let There Be Fashion, Down with Art)
Schloemilch Verlag, January/February 1920
lithograph on paper, 56.0 x 40.0 cm
Purchase, with funds donated by AGO members, 2002
2002/9404

Fig. 9 Angelika Hoerle (German, 1899–1923)
"Das Ziel der Revolution ist erreicht!"
("The goals of the revolution have been accomplished")
uncredited caricature in *Sozialistische Republik*, September 1919

Fig. 10 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Aufmarsch der unter dem Regime der Ebert-Noske Ermordeten (March of those Murdered during the Ebert-Noske Regime), 1921
pen and ink on wove paper, 32.5 x 25.0 cm
Gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002

Fig. 11 Willy Fick (German, 1893–1967)
Fisch und Meerwesen (Fish and Mermaid), c. 1920–1921
watercolour on paper, 30.7 x 22.7 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Angelika and David Littlefield in memory of Angie's great-uncle Willy Fick and her parents Frank and Suse Eggert, 2002
2002/10876

Fig. 12 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Artistin (Artist)
pastel and graphite on paper, 49.0 x 25.0 cm
Private collection

Fig. 13 Gottfried Brockmann (German, 1903–1983)
Ohne Titel (Untitled), 1923
oil on board , 36.0 x 26.5 cm
Collection Gerd Sander

Fig. 14 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Ohne Titel (Mann mit Fisch)
[Untitled (Man with Fish)], from *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio), 1919
lithograph, 50.0 x 50.0 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Angelika and David Littlefield in memory of Angie's great-uncle Willy Fick and her parents Frank and Suse Eggert, 2002

Fig. 15 Heinrich Hoerle (German, 1895–1936)
Frauenkopf (Pockmarked Angelika), 1922
graphite on paper, 28.5 x 22.5 cm
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002
2002/11111

* **Fig. 16** Marta Hegemann (German, 1894–1970)
Angelika, 1924
watercolour

Fig. 17 Marta Hegemann and Anton Räderscheidt at Hildeboldplatz 9, 1920.
Photo: Hugo Räderscheidt

Fig. 18 Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976)
front cover of *Bulletin D*, 1919
On loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario from the Fick-Eggert Collection

Fig. 19 Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976)
Radierung mit Widmung für Angelika und Heinz Hoerle (Etching Dedicated to Angelika and Heinz Hoerle), 1919
engraving, 20.0 x 18.0 cm
Sammlung Fischer, Krefeld

Fig. 20 Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976)
Adieu mon beau pays de Marie Laurencin
(Farewell my Beautiful Land of Marie Laurencin)
January or February 1920
lino-block print with ink on paper, 40.0 x 27.9 cm
Museum of Modern Art, New York

Fig. 21 Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976)
title page of *die schammade [dilettanten erhebt euch]* (The Schammade [Dilettantes Rise Up])
Schloemilch Verlag, April 1920
reproduction of a proof of printer's blocks with ink
Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Dr. F. Michael Eggert and Mrs. Colette M. Lehodey Eggert in memory of great-uncle Willy Fick and Suse and Frank Eggert, 2002

* **Fig. 22** Marta Hegemann (German, 1894–1970)
Family Picture, 1924
oil on canvas

* **Fig. 23** Anton Räderscheidt
Innenraum, Junge Ehe
(Interior: Young Couple), 1922
oil on canvas
(formerly collection of Paul Multhaupt)

Fig. 24 Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976)
La Belle Jardinière, 1923
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(formerly in Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf)

* **Fig. 25** Anton Räderscheidt
Freundinnen (Female Friends), 1923
oil on wood
(formerly collection of Paul Multhaupt)

Fig. 26 Marta Hegemann (German, 1894–1970)
Komposition mit Kirche, Telegraphendrähten
(Composition with Church, Telegraph Wires), 1921
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Museum Ludwig Cologne

Fig. 27 Anton Räderscheidt (German, 1892–1970)
Sitzende Frau (Seated Woman), 1924
oil on panel, 43.5 x 33.0 cm
Kasimir Hagen Collection, Rheine
Falkenhof Museum, Rheine

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pl. 57 Angelika Hoerle, **Vogel** (Bird), 1920 (cat. 12.9)

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Heinrich Hoerle, *Angelika Hoerle,* 1920, oil and graphite on paper, 33.0 x 26.0 cm. Fick-Eggert Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Angelika and David Littlefield in memory of Angie's great-uncle Willy Fick and her parents Frank and Suse Eggert, 2002

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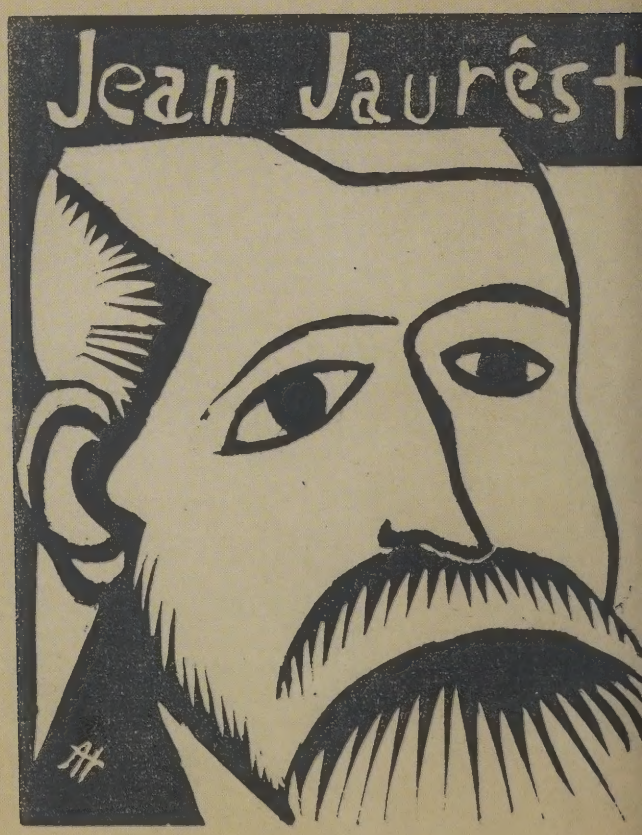
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